

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



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REPORT
OF THE
Backward Classes Commission

Vol. I

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Government of India
Backward Classes Commission

New Delhi 2, the 30th March 1955

Revered President,

It is with a mixed sense of joy, anxiety and relief, that I submit to you the Report of the Backward Classes Commission. You were pleased to appoint the Commission on the 29th January 1953, but formally inaugurated it on the 18th March 1953. It took us full two long years to finish our labours and prepare the Report. We did our best to present a unanimous Report, and I am glad to say that the major portion of our recommendations has been almost unanimous. From the very complexity of our task, it was inevitable that there should be differences of opinion even on fundamental matters. It should be a matter of agreeable surprise that the members of the Commission were united on so many matters and even where we have felt constrained to hold different views, our anxiety for the welfare of the backward classes and betterment of their condition is not in any way the less. The very minutes of dissent prove this beyond any doubt.

2. I was expected, as Chairman, to prepare the report of the Commission. I had my notes ready, written out fairly in detail, but I felt that it would be much better and more satisfactory if I allowed my colleagues to write the report after reading my notes and utilising them to the extent they liked. This task of writing the Report, I left to Shri Mariappa, who has had valuable experience in the administration of the Mysore State. Although he could not devote much time in the beginning to the work of the Commission on account of his preoccupations with the Mysore Congress work, he gave sufficient time, and worked hard in preparing the Report. This rendered my work very easy. I had simply to go over what he wrote, and suggest a few modifications here and there. My other colleagues also had their share, and the Report, as it finally emerged, must be accepted as the joint production of us all; but, I must express my heartfelt thanks to Shri Mariappa, for the unstinted labour which he devoted on the production of the Report. Dr. Anup Singh helped us to put the report in shape.

Shri Shah, with his knowledge of the Public Service Commission, of public accounts and Anthropology was of great help to us in many ways. It was at his insistence that we could work out our chapter on Grants in detail. The details were chiefly supplied by Shri Patel.

3. We prepared a detailed State-wise Report, and I had expected that it will be the second part of our general Report, but we found that it would take too long a time before it was discussed in detail and finalised. Our recommendations, which are the main part of the Report, do not depend upon the State-wise section. We therefore, towards the end, decided to delete this portion. But, some thought

and labour has been bestowed upon this State-wise Reports section—and I would recommend that, although it is not a part of our official report, it may be forwarded to the various States and they might make what use they like of the contents.

It was our intention to prepare a detailed glossary of the various communities recommended by us, for being included in the list of the Other Backward Classes. We received some information from the States and collected some through our Research Section. This information also may be useful, but we found it difficult to go over these and arrive at a uniformity of conclusions. We decided, therefore, to drop this glossary also from our Report, although it would have been a valuable commentary on the lists we have supplied. The Government of India may, with the help of the State Governments and the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, check, enlarge and complete the glossary that we prepared and issue it as an official publication. It will help administrators in many ways.

It is evident that Government wanted to know the views and aspirations of the representatives of the backward classes. The very selection of the Members on the Commission indicated this anxiety, and the Report will show that it clearly voices the feelings, fears and aspirations of the present-day leaders of the various backward communities in the various States of India. Backwardness, even in formulating the feelings, fears and aspirations, must be an inevitable characteristic in this matter, and it should not surprise anyone if both these fears and aspirations belong more to the past.

4. The age-old resignation of the masses to their lot is gone. They no longer believe that it is Fate that has kept them backward. They are not yet alive to their own share in the backwardness, viz., apathy, lethargy and negligence. They are too backward to be introspective and to find out what is wrong with themselves. It is but natural and to some extent justifiable that they should find fault with the situation around them, and their eyes should be reverted on the fact of their being exploited by the upper classes. Their representatives and leaders have read the literature that we evolved in finding faults with the evils of the British rule. They have come to know how one race dominates another, and how those who have to suffer have, perforce, to unite against the forces of vested interests. They have heard of the inevitability of class conflict. No wonder if they are prone to draw hasty conclusions.

5. Social reformers from ancient times have always been introspective. Most of them, coming from the upper castes have been most critical of the faults and foibles of their own class and criticised them in unstinted measure, for all the social neglect and injustice towards the backward classes. All this has combined to help the representatives of the backward classes in preparing a case, and it should not surprise anyone if the case is overdrawn, stereo-typed and fails to recognize the amount of righteousness in the nation expressed in the struggle for social justice carried on by the social leaders through the ages.

6. We have to recognize the painful fact that all the efforts of the social reformers belonging to the upper classes have been more

than counter-balanced by the blind-selfishness and traditional self-justification of the upper classes. There is an amount of uneasiness amongst the backward classes. This has been carefully fanned and organized by interested persons who stand to gain both materially and in leadership by organizing discontent.

7. However unpalatable this may be, and however turbid the motives of some of the representatives of the backward classes, no one can say that they are not justified in complaining that there is an unsympathetic uniformity in the attitude of the majority of the upper classes, from which the backward classes have to suffer.

8. I would plead, therefore, that the case of the backward classes need not be analysed too critically, and it is no use marshalling evidence to prove that the accusations levelled at the upper classes by the backward classes are not substantially correct, and that it is only interested representatives that distort the situation. Even conceding that the whole picture is one-sided and over-drawn, one has to recognize that there is an uneasiness in the minds of the masses, and this uneasiness is gathering momentum.

9. It is unfortunate that the Swaraj Government which is struggling hard to establish social justice has been left to atone for the blind and conservative attitude and the traditional policy of the upper classes, with the result that even though Government is prompted with the best of motives, little credit is given to it, and all the evils of the social system are levelled at it. It would be well if representatives of the backward classes remembered that whatever good they find in the Constitution and the liberal policy of the Government is the result of the awakened conscience of the upper classes themselves. Whatever the Government is doing by way of atonement is readily accepted and acclaimed by the nation as a whole. And let it not be forgotten that the upper classes have contributed their share in formulating the policies of the Government. Removal of untouchability, establishment of equality and social justice, special consideration for the backward classes—all these elements found their place in the Constitution without a single dissentient voice from the upper classes.

10. Some people who are unwilling to recognize any good point in their own nation try to explain this righteousness as a reaction to world opinion. We know how far world opinion counts where self interest and pride of race are dominant! We know how far world opinion is able to influence the policies of countries like America, South Africa and Portugal! It is not fair to be blind to the awakened conscience of the nation itself in which the upper classes are also honourably included—when recognizing the good points in the Constitution, of which we have every reason to be proud.

11. We have now to see if there are any defects in the framework of the Constitution itself, or the policy of the Government, by which the enlightened conscience fails sufficiently to organize itself and forces of selfishness, self-aggrandisement and mutual suspicion are oftentimes allowed to be organized and pitted against each other leading unwittingly to a class conflict. I am led to believe that such

Government. It is not easy to locate them, but it seems to be a patent fact that forces of opportunism, selfishness, and self-aggrandisement, mutual suspicion and conflict, on both sides invariably come to the fore-front and get organized, whereas the forces of brotherliness, of social justice and gratitude are not allowed or do not get a chance to function with a united will. Unless we feel gratitude for the patience of the long-suffering masses and for their respect for law and order; unless we have gratitude to the best amongst the nation for their struggle for the establishment of righteousness; unless we have gratitude for all that the mahatmas and social reformers have been doing, and unless we feel grateful to Providence for the mysterious way in which It is training the nation for a higher service of humanity, we may not be able to appreciate the forces of good that have been working in our nation, and, through our nation, for the betterment of the lot of humanity.

12. We have found it inevitable to attribute most of the evils of our social condition to caste. We are not blind to the good intentions and wisdom of our ancestors who built the caste structure. It was, perhaps, the only way through which they could teach the nation to forget and rise above racial, clannish, tribal and similar biological groupings of society and to accept a workable arrangement of social existence based on cultural hierarchy and occupational self-government.

13. But whatever the beauty and success of these primitive social experiments of the past, we are sufficiently advanced today towards a feeling of nationhood and national solidarity. We were confronted with the existence of a multiplicity of religions in our land in an age of democracy; we struggled through the situation and have managed to come out successful, however severely mauled and weakened we may have been in the process. We hope now to build a familyhood of races, a familyhood of religions and a familyhood of cultures. We are now beyond the necessity of working on the basis of hierarchy. We have been able to build a feeling of oneness in the whole nation. We have learnt to adjust religious, racial and cultural differences. We have decided to overcome the inequalities based on differences of wealth and intellectual equipment, and that by a democratic process of giving equal opportunities to all to attain the highest alike in educational, cultural and economic fields.

14. National solidarity demands that in a democratic set up Government recognize only two ends—the individual at one end and the nation as a whole at the other—and that nothing should be encouraged to organize itself in between these two ends to the detriment of the freedom of the individual and solidarity of the nation. All communal and denominational organizations and groupings of lesser and narrower units have to be watched carefully so that they do not jeopardise the national solidarity and do not weaken the efforts of the nation to serve all the various elements in the body politic with equity.

15. The secular democracy of India gives full freedom to all the established religions of the world to exist and propagate themselves in the land because this our secular democracy has equal respect for

all of them, of course to the extent that they do not undermine universal brotherhood and respect for the personality of every citizen irrespective of his or her economical, educational or cultural traditions or standpoint. Mutual respect, mutual help and mutual trust are the touchstone on which all communal and denominational activities will be tested, and anything that undermines these fundamental principles of democracy will be exposed and brought to book.

16. It is a hopeful sign of the times and a guarantee for the future well-being of every interest in the nation that Government is fast progressing towards the ideals of a socialistic pattern, and the people themselves are accepting and developing the ideals of Sarvodaya in all the sectors of our national existence. Thus both the nation and the national Government have accepted the ideal of familyhood of all the nations, all races, of all civilizations and cultures. It is in this context that the condition of the backward classes in India has to be understood and appreciated, and the remedies suggested are to be systematically applied. The remedies will not yield the desired result within a stipulated period unless there is a nation-wide awakening through systematic propaganda and moral revival, and practical steps are taken both by the Government and the people. The old taboos, along with the hierarchical segregation in the matter of food and drink and marriages, have to be overcome. The Bhoodan movement is teaching the whole nation to accept the familyhood of all the people living in this land. It is not merely an equitable redistribution of land between the landed and the landless, but it is a recognition by the nation that we all form one human family and we are responsible for each other's well-being.

17. A similar nation-wide social revolution, not confined to the upper classes, neither only to the Hindus alone, has to be inaugurated.

18. All our social reform movements and the moral fervour behind them are so far generally confined to the Hindus. We have always allowed the Muslim and the Christian communities to have their own way. This may be a good example in toleration; it may perhaps reflect the hope that the reform amongst the Hindus may give rise to a healthy emulation in the minds of other denominations also. But political self-interest has so far come in their way, and orthodoxy amongst the Christians and the Muslims and other denominations is as hopeless and hard as the orthodoxy amongst the Hindus—only, the former is stronger and never discredited. Sometimes the criticism is heard that the Government is partial to the Hindus in the sense that it throws its whole weight on the side of social reform amongst Hindus and helps that community to overcome its weakness, but when it comes to any social legislation for overcoming the social defects and antiquated moral standards of non-Hindus, the Government has thought it fit to follow a policy of non-intervention and non-interference. This is bound to weaken the nation as a whole, and thereby weaken the forces of moral and spiritual reform started in the Muslim and Christian countries of the world. It is sometimes a wiser course to allow social reform in the minority communities to grow spontaneously from within instead of using the weight of the enlightened sense of the majority community for quickening the pace of reform amongst them. It is safe to wait for sometime at least.

The Backward Amongst the Non-Hindus

19. Being convinced that the upper castes among the Hindus have to atone for the neglect of which they were guilty towards the "lower" classes, I was prepared to recommend to Government that all special help should be given only to the backward classes and even the poor and the deserving among the upper classes may be safely kept out from the benefit of this special help. My eyes were however opened to the dangers of suggesting remedies on caste basis when I discovered that it is going to have a most unhealthy effect on the Muslim and Christian sections of the nation. It is a patent fact that the bulk of the Muslims and Christians in India are converts from the Hindu fold. This conversion was encouraged by the fact that Islam and Christianity were fundamentally opposed to caste. The "lower castes" in the Hindu fold left their traditional religion and joined the religion of the ruling race because they felt assured that in that way they would be free from the tyranny of caste and caste prejudices.

20. For the purpose of the Backward Classes Commission, we could not accept the view that all Indian Christians or all Muslims were backward without accepting the logical conclusion that all Hindus also were in the same sense equally backward. The Government of India recognized certain castes among the Hindus as backward and offered special scholarships, concessions and privileges to these communities. This led the Muslims and Christians also to assert that although their religion was fundamentally different, and that theoretically it is opposed to caste, in practice their society was more or less caste-ridden. The special concessions and privileges accorded to Hindu castes acted as a bait and a bribe inciting Muslim and Christian society to revert to caste and caste prejudices and the healthy social reforms effected by Islam and Christianity were being thus rendered null and void. Muslims came forward to prove that except for the four upper castes, namely, Sheikh, Syed, Moghul and Pathan, all the other Muslim castes were inferior and backward. The Indian Christians also were prepared to fall in the trap. They told the Ministry of Education and the Backward Classes Commission that caste is rampant among them. We discovered to our pain and sorrow that untouchability did obtain in the extreme South amongst Indian Christians, and Indian Christians were prepared in many places to assert that they were still guided by caste not only in the matter of untouchability but in social hierarchy of high and low. Their social and religious leaders in their anxiety to secure some Governmental help for their own people supported the contention that caste was rampant among Indian Christians also.

21. This was a rude shock and it drove me to the conclusion that the remedies we suggested were worse than the evil we were out to combat.

22. This painful realization came to me almost towards the end of our labours. I could not stem the current of opinion within the Commission itself and ultimately decided, though reluctantly, to side with the majority with whom I had co-operated throughout in formulating remedies on caste basis. It is only when the Report was being finalised that I started thinking anew and found that backwardness could be tackled on a basis or a number of bases other than that of caste, I only succeeded in raising the suspicion of the majority

of my colleagues, that I was trying to torpedo the recommendations of the Commission. This was another reason why I signed the report without even a minute of dissent. We must be able to help both Indian Christians and Muslims without their being driven to accept the fissiparous principle of caste. This will also enable us to remove the bitterness which the extremely poor and helpless amongst the upper class Hindus feel that they are being victimised for no fault of their own. Once we eschew the principle of caste, it will be possible to help the extremely poor and deserving from all communities. Care of course must be taken to give preference to those who come from the traditionally neglected social classes.

Extreme Poverty also Leads to Social Backwardness

23. A secular State that does not concern itself with religious differences and has no preference for one religion over another, cannot go into the details of the religious prejudices of one section against another. It is only when a community or a group is proved to be working under a special handicap and is not allowed freely to function as citizens, that the State may intervene and make special provision for the advancement of such under-privileged and handicapped communities. It is not enough to prove that one community is regarded as inferior by another. The Christians may look down upon the Jews and the Jews may retaliate with the same feelings. The Brahman may regard the Bania as inferior and the Bania in his turn may regard the Brahman as a mere social dependent. But such opinions and prejudices do not come in the way of the full growth of these communities. This opinion about the inferiority of certain communities, has not necessarily retarded the progress of those communities, either educationally or economically. If such communities have neglected education it is because they had no use for it. Now that they have discovered their mistake, it is for them to make the necessary efforts for making up the leeway.

24. They will naturally receive whatever help is available to all citizens, but they can claim no special help because they neglected education in the past. And yet, if these communities are to be regarded as backward and given additional help on a caste basis, the only course open to the State would be to impose a communal tax on the well-to-do members. Whatever money is collected through such a tax may be spent on giving special scholarships and help to the poorer members of those communities.

25. Till recently, good many Communities were organizing caste conferences and collecting funds for granting scholarships to boys and girls of their own community. That was a good lesson in self-help and a good number of communities have thus come forward in material well being. But now all burden is sought to be thrown on the common exchequer and those who have thoughtlessly neglected education in the past are now seeking preferential treatment in Government services. This is anything but fair. It is one thing to help those who have been long neglected and who have no conception of the needs of modern times and who had not the wherewithals with which to educate themselves. Such communities deserve all help, but the richer and well-to-do communities may not neglect their own poor people and throw the burden on the common exchequer, and yet ask for special preferential treatment for even the rich amongst them, so far as Government services are concerned.

A general formula of helping all persons, to whatever caste or community they may belong, provided they belong to the special backward class of the extremely poor, covers such cases of extremely poor, who have been cruelly neglected by their own community. Families whose income is less than Rs. 800/- a year do need special help irrespective of the community to which they belong. Such poor and deserving may even belong either to the upper communities or the educationally backward but otherwise prosperous people of the dominant communities among the backward classes. The extremely poor cannot be denied special help simply because they happen to belong to a particular community.

26. Care of course, must be taken to see that these do not carry away all State help, and leave the extremely backward communities unattended to. The list of backward communities supplied by us ought to be a guide in all preferences. Unfortunately, we have not been able to supply a regular hierarchy of all the communities residing in India. That perhaps, would have been the best guide for preference in all governmental concessions and privileges.

Reservation in Services

27. I am definitely against reservation in Government Services for any community for the simple reason that the services are not meant for the servants but they are meant for the service of society as a whole. Administration must have the services of the best men available in the land and these may be found in all communities. Reservation of posts for certain backward communities would be as strange as reservation of patients for particular doctors. The patients are not meant to supply adequate or proportionate clientele to all the doctors, whatever their qualifications.

28. The best policy that could be recommended is that given the same or almost the same qualifications, candidates or aspirants from the backward classes should be given a decided preference.

29. Coming to details of governmental services the principle of "no reservation" but "generous preference" should be strictly followed in class I (and perhaps in class II also) of services because services belonging to these classes demand higher standards of integrity, efficiency and initiative. It is not suggested that these qualities are the monopoly of any one community or that these qualities are at a discount in the case of other communities. Inferiority complex cultivated by the backward communities leads them to believe that they are, and will always remain, deficient in certain qualities, and therefore, they need the backing of reservation. Experience in the past proves that reservations come in the way of healthy emulation and those who learnt to depend upon reservation are oftentimes, not alert enough to improve their quality. They rest on their privileges and all zest for self-improvement is dulled.

30. But we have to recognize that the tradition of the past so many years, when the British rulers wanted to placate many elements, has created a demand for reservation in Government jobs. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes already enjoy some reservation. It is natural, therefore, that the Other Backward Classes should also desire to have some reservation in their favour.

31. In this matter one clear principle must be accepted and observed. Reservations if contemplated must not exceed 49 per cent. whatever the total population of all the "Reserved" communities.

32. I believe that in class I and class II Services, the backward classes will stand to gain, both morally and materially, if they do not demand a reservation percentage in the vacancies and simply rely on the fair-mindedness of the administration to use their preference in favour of the backward classes. They could then demand greatest facilities for training and education in order to fit themselves for the highest jobs, as speedily as possible.

33. As regards Class III and Class IV services, it has to be recognised that the policy of preference may not work with equal force. It will take some time before the policy of preference percolates through the thick layer of indifference and vested interests. I would, therefore, accept 49 per cent for the reservation of seats, all told, for all the backward classes. Candidates from the backward classes can of course compete in the sector of 51 per cent and take any number of seats by sheer worth over and above the reservation. In class III services, I would have an additional principle of favouring women candidates over men. Most of the clerical posts must, hereafter, go to women, men being expected to work in the fields or trade and industry.

34. In the case of class IV services, there is an almost cent per cent monopoly of the Bhangi Class for scavenging work. There is, already an ample percentage of backward people in class IV. Here I would recommend that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the starred communities from amongst the Other Backward Classes should have a definite preference over others.

35. In class IV services over and above necessary personal qualification, the recommendation of certain reliable persons is important because much depends upon the loyalty and integrity of this service. The usual practice is to demand that there must be at least two persons who stand guarantee for the honesty, loyalty and regularity of this useful and humble servant. This leads to each man bringing another from his own community because, thus alone can he stand guarantee for the good behaviour of the new man. This principle is healthy enough, but there are wholesale communities amongst the backward classes who have never had a chance of occupying even the post of chaprasis, jamedars and daftries. Such unrepresented communities need special preference.

36. The policy recommended does not preclude the backward classes from entering in the sector of service open to general competition. It must be the policy of Government to encourage more and more people from the backward communities to occupy places of responsibility and initiative. The greater the confidence shown to the backward classes, the greater is the security of the State. Therefore, although some of us are unwilling to reserve more percentage of seats for the backward classes, we whole-heartedly recommend to the Government that they should do everything in their power to see that men of ability and integrity from amongst the backward classes are given a definite preference, other things being equal; and they

are made to feel that the country is theirs and the whole nation has complete confidence in their patriotism and equal love for all sections of the nation.

37. In class III services much depends upon actual experience rather than on initial qualifications. Therefore, we would recommend that candidates or applicants from the backward classes should be given proper coaching before enlistment and those who are on the borderland of average qualifications should be given further coaching even after selection, and thus, every effort should be made to train candidates from the backward classes to be efficient members of Government services.

38. One paramount consideration that must be accepted is that just as efficiency and integrity are essential in Government services, it is equally essential that the largest portion of the civil population should be trained to run the administration with integrity and efficiency. No democracy can be safe, if adequate qualification for Government services is confined to a few communities only. Democracy, to be broad-based must train the maximum number of citizens for the efficient discharge of public duties, especially in the case of a welfare state, where the public sector is going to be increased by leaps and bounds, and the number of Government services is being increased from day to day. It is essential that the Government should have the maximum number of persons trained for running the administration from amongst all the communities.

39. We might even go to the length of recommending that the universities and institutions of secondary education should have specialised courses for training young men and young women for Governmental administrative jobs. If mathematics, geography and similar subjects are essential, it is equally essential that principles of administration and the technique of running various departments of Government must also be compulsory subject in secondary and higher educational institutions.

40. Under a democracy, a Government will be judged by the number of servants it is able to retain from all the communities composing the nation.

41. The Parliament could demand from the Government an annual report showing how many candidates it trained in all in the art of administration.

Reservation in Institutes of Higher Education

42. As for assistance in the matter of education for the backward classes, I am convinced that introduction of Basic Education in all the States will help the backward communities to cultivate self-confidence. They will also have a better chance of succeeding in open competition, and having the special advantage of mixing with people and serving them, they will prove themselves better administrators and leaders of society.

43. Seats in the higher technical institutes of science, engineering, medicine, etc., will be limited for some years to come, and there should be a generous reservation in favour of the backward classes.

44. Here again, the best interests of the nation demand that the most intelligent and the most promising should be trained to supply the needs of the nation. You cannot deny the nation its right of being served by the best. In these days of keen competition, both in trade and war, no nation can afford to have indifferent persons trained to higher service. Here again, the fears of the backward classes that they will not be able to come up to the level of the upper classes are entirely unfounded. Students from the backward classes who have come up to matriculation standard can easily hold their own against the upper classes. Experience of the past is no guide for the achievements of the future. The backward classes are already feeling that they are the equals of the upper castes, and given a proper chance, they can easily hold their own.

45. But I am definitely of the opinion that in the field of education, the backward classes must be made to feel that here at least they will have everything in their favour, and that the nation is determined to give them the best chance of educating themselves and coming to the top. I have, therefore, whole-heartedly supported the recommendation that up to seventy per cent of the seats ought to be reserved for the best amongst the backward classes. The remaining thirty per cent seats, and any seats not absorbed by candidates from "Reserved" communities should go to the "Unreserved" communities. This rule should apply for the next ten years. It may be confined to all the existing institutes of higher technical education. The tension and the need for rationing will be eased as more institutes are opened. The nation is determined to develop in science and technology; so more and more institutes will be opened in the near future and almost every one that has shown a capacity of succeeding in higher technical education, will get a seat. No reservation will then be necessary.

46. I would recommend that some institutes may be reserved specially for the benefit of the backward classes and the backward students could be admitted to these to the limit of ninety per cent, ten per cent being reserved for the upper communities, so that the students of the backward communities will have a chance of mixing freely and brushing their intellect against the intellect of students having more self-confidence. If this suggestion is followed, then institutes not reserved for the backward classes could throw their doors open to all students irrespective of communal considerations.

47. We have to hear the other side which also is important enough. Free India is struggling to come up to the level of the advanced nations of the world, not militarily but in education and material development, which will give best scope for the spiritual culture of India. The nation wants a highly trained personnel alike in scientific, technical and social fields. The nation is anxious to train all the backward classes to come up to the level of the advanced classes, but the nation may not be satisfied with the supply of highly trained personnel which is derived from the backward classes only. The hunger and thirst for men of the highest education and training is insatiable, and the nation may not deny itself the services of persons who could be trained from amongst the upper classes also. And, just as we are insistent that we shall have the services of the best pilots, best doctors and best engineers, to whatever class they may belong, the nation is equally anxious that it should train every person who

has the potential capacity of responding to the training. We cannot, therefore, prevent young men and young women from the advanced classes, from being trained to serve the nation and humanity.

48. Social justice demands that the backward classes are not denied the chance of being similarly trained, but they cannot start with demanding a monopoly of seventy per cent for the chances of being trained for higher services.

49. If I have lent my full support to the demand for seventy per cent of reservations in higher technical institutes of learning for the backward classes it is not because I want to turn the upper classes into a new under-privileged class, but because I want opportunities for higher training to be multiplied with break-neck speed. It is only when the traditionally more promising sections of society are kept out of higher learning that those in authority and power will shed their traditional lethargy.

50. In the same spirit I once suggested that the Bhangis of a town living in filthy *bastis* should all be shifted *en bloc* to stay in college hostels; it is not that I did not want college education and amenities of residence for the students. I knew that only if all the college hostels were requisitioned for the accommodation of the most useful servants of society, viz., the Bhangis, that society would bestir itself and make herculean efforts for having adequate housing accommodation for the students. No mere agitation could drive the city fathers to build better quarters for the Bhangis.

51. In the same way, it is only when most of the available seats in institutions of higher learning are occupied by eligible candidates from the backward classes that Government and social leaders will come forward to start more and more institutions of technical education for training students denied admission into the higher institutes simply because they happen to belong to the upper and more promising communities.

The American Policy

52. Having thus given my viewpoint regarding reservations both in Government service and in institutes of Higher Technical Education, I am tempted to give below the American policy of Fair Practice in Employment. America is a land of many races and nationalities. The Anglo-Saxons, the French, the Germans, the Latin races, the Jews, the Negroes, and the aboriginal Red-Indians, with a microscopic sprinkling of a few Asians, all thrown together, constitute a colossal problem which they are trying to solve in America. This is how they regulate employment under the merit system.

53. "The long-established policy of the Federal Government, under the merit system of Federal employment, has been to make appointments to Federal positions with sole regard to merit and fitness."

54. "This policy was reinforced in 1948, when President Truman issued Executive Order 9880 setting forth for the Federal Service the basic policy of fair employment without discrimination because of race, colour, religion or national origin. The fair employment policy does not mean that any fixed proportion of persons of different races,

religions or national origins must be given Federal employment. It distinctly and definitely does not mean that any persons of inferior merit or fitness shall be pushed ahead of other employees or applicants or shielded from the consequences of their failures or shortcomings whether members of a majority group, or members of minority group which in the past have suffered from unfair discrimination. No applicant or employee having merit and fitness shall be refused or deprived of employment or earned promotion by reason of his or her race, colour, religion, or national origin. On the same principle, no one lacking merit or fitness shall receive preferment for the same reasons. The fair employment policy is a double-edged tool and as such must be used with special care and good judgement."

55. Some such policy will have to be followed by our country also when the unhappy but necessary period of reservations is over. We hope that by then, the various castes will have been amalgamated and there will also be free intermarriages between various denominational groups. Not a mere co-existence of communities but National Solidarity is what we are aiming at.

Remedial Measures on-Non-Caste Bases

56. According to the terms of reference to the Commission, we were asked to consider whether any sections of the people of the territory of India, in addition to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes. The words specifically used are 'classes and sections' of the people, and not 'castes'; and yet, as explained in the body of the report the word 'sections and classes' can in the present context mean nothing but castes, and no other interpretation is feasible.

57. It must be admitted, however, that, taking the wording of the terms of reference, we are not precluded from interpreting the words 'sections and classes of the people' in their widest significance even excluding the idea of caste. We feel we were justified in accepting the traditional interpretation. We were warned by well-wishers of the country that investigations into caste may encourage people to be caste-conscious, and thus increase the atmosphere of communalism. Following the analogy of the proverb, viz. 'using the thorn to remove a thorn,' we held that the evils of caste could be removed by measures which could be considered in terms of caste alone.

58. The result of our inquiry is that caste-consciousness, caste loyalties and caste aspirations, have increased throughout the country and some of us were responsible for encouraging people to think that the backward classes could be organised into a party to wield political power through universal adult franchise. (That position has been crystallised into my article "Emergence of a New Leadership". It expresses the hope and ambition of the backward classes, and it is also a warning to others regarding the atmosphere in the country and the attitude which they must cultivate in order to meet the emergency).

59. But, we cannot be oblivious to the dangers to the solidarity of the country. Communalism and Casteism are bound to destroy the unity of the nation and narrow down the aspirations of our people.

60. Two years of experience have convinced us of the dangers of the spread of casteism and the warning of the well-wishers of the country have also led us, almost towards the end of our investigation, to the conclusion that it would have been better if we could determine the criteria of backwardness on principles other than caste.

61. We feel that the investigation into the backwardness in the nation and of the people ought not to have been confined to finding out such sections of the people or such classes, castes, communities or tribes as are backward. We have come to the conclusion that this group investigation is repugnant to the spirit of democracy.

62. In a democracy, it is always the individual (not even the family) which is the unit. Democracy thrives best when, on the one hand we recognise and respect the personality of the individual and on the other we consider the well-being of the totality comprising the nation.

63. Groups or sections, less than the totality of the nation, should not be encouraged to develop group loyalty as otherwise, the spirit of democracy is undermined.

64. Moreover, the nation has decided to establish a classless and casteless society, which also demands that backwardness should be studied from the point of view of the individual and, at the most, that of a family. Any other unit will lead to caste or class aggrandisement.

65. Let us therefore, try to find criteria of backwardness that could eschew ideas of caste or class.

66. The following may be accepted as criteria of backwardness. It is a rough list and needs careful scrutiny, and yet these considerations are given below by way of guidance.

It would be more convenient to write the criteria in two columns showing the anti-thesis between the Backward and the Non-Backward.

<i>Backward</i>	<i>Non-Backward</i>
1. Women.	1. Men.
2. Residents of rural area.	2. Residents of urban area.
3. Those who are driven to the necessity of working with their own hands.	3. Those whose work consists of supervision of manual workers.
4. Those labouring under the sun and in open air.	4. Those working under shade after the pattern of the white-collared fraternity.
5. Landless labourers.	5. Landed peasantry.
6. Unskilled labour.	6. Skilled labour and high craftsmanship.
7. Not having sufficient, or any capital.	7. Commanding sufficient capital.
8. Working as mere clerks.	8. Following some learned profession.
9. Menial service under private persons.	9. Government service of the upper grades.

Backward

10. Having poor and uneducated parents, lacking ambition and having no vision.

11. Lacking in resources.

12. Belonging to, or condemned to live in, inaccessible and backward areas.

13. Illiterate.

14. Not having capacity to understand modern times and the facilities for self-improvement available in society.

15. Belief in magic, superstition and fate.

Non-Backward

10. Having educated parents or guardians with an atmosphere of self-confidence and culture.

11. Having adequate income and resources.

12. Enjoying amenities of modern civilization.

13. Having a fair amount of education.

14. Being well-equipped and alert to profit by modern conditions and opportunities.

15. Belief in science and the understanding of the law of cause and effect.

Remedies for Removing Backwardness

1. *Women*—They should be given special help in education so that they may come up to the level of men, and they should be given all opportunities in public service by giving them equality of status.

They should be given security of tenure in service during periods of pregnancy and child birth.

2. *Rural areas*—Rural areas must be made attractive by better means of communication, better and healthy amenities etc. Educational institutions in sufficient numbers should be planted in rural areas, including a few rural universities.

3. *Working with hands*—All education should involve the use of hands and the cultivation of the use of fingers for scientific precision and artistic grace.

All work of a supervisory nature should be combined with some amount of manual labour in company of the regular manual workers.

Nobody should be allowed to be a boss unless he is prepared to do some manual work also.

4. *Working under the sun and in open air*—All amenities and comforts for those working in shade and those working under the sun should be equalised as much as possible, so that preference for 'shaded' life may automatically cease.

Difference in the emoluments or wages of the two should also be reduced to a minimum.

5. *Land*—Landless labourers should be given every facility of possessing some land, either individually or collectively, and nobody should be allowed to possess land unless he is prepared to hold the plough in his hand and work on the land for the major part of the year.

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6. *Unskilled labour*—Special training should be given to the unskilled labourers to improve their efficiency, and they should be encouraged to raise the standard of efficiency, precision, dexterity, grace and quickness. The unskilled labourers of today, should also be allowed some leisure in which they could develop some kind of craftsmanship as a hobby.

All labour should be educated labour. The labouring men should be able to read and write, enjoy and understand the newspapers of the day. He must be encouraged to cultivate self-respect and ever-increasing efficiency for himself and his children.

He should be given educational allowance for himself for some time, and afterwards, for his children.

7. *Capital*—Hereafter, there should be a ceiling on individual capital, all additional capital being socialised for the good of all.

8. *Clerkship and the learned professions*—Even mere administration should be regarded as a learned profession, along with that of the doctor, pleader, engineer and the educationist.

Clerks should be encouraged to help in evolving club-life, where they could improve their prospects by picking up new things by which they could add to their capacity and social utility.

9. *Menials, other grades and classes of service*—Employment of menials must be discouraged. Everyone, whether high or low, should be expected to look after his own room, his office, his dress and the carrying of things from one place to another, etc.

The use of menial service should be confined to the needs of only the sick, the babies and the extremely old.

Heavy work, of course, will have to be tackled by collective effort.

There should also be collective service instead of personal menial service. For instance, instead of keeping a servant to do my marketing, I should ask the shop-keeper to maintain servants who would go to all the customers of the shop delivering things purchased by them.

Hours of work of the menial servants, the nurses, watchmen, waiters, etc., should be limited, and where employment is steady, there should be arrangement for regular promotion and pension after a period of service.

10. *Parentage*—There should be an army of social servants or social workers who would act in the place of parents for many children. This career should attract best men and best women. The State should be in the place of parents for looking after the youths of the land, giving them proper training and cultivating their ambition to be useful members of society.

11. *Resources*—The need for resources will be reduced to a minimum, if workshops and similar fields of work are socialised.

Till then the State should provide or lend or cheapen facilities.

12. *Inaccessible Areas*—The State should have a survey of all such areas, and hasten to have all-weather good pucca roads and approach roads as early as possible, and where population is sparse the people should be asked to give their quota of the expenses through manual labour i.e. *Shramdan*, care being taken always never to build a pucca road unless it had with it the installation of the telephone also. This is essential for the safety of the traffic and for military needs also.

For mountainous areas there should be more of bridges of sufficient width for buses to ply.

13. *Literacy*—People should not wait for the Government to start primary and basic schools. Social workers should enthusiastically start literacy campaign work. High school and college students should be encouraged, as part of their curriculum, to go to nearby villages, and spend a month or two of their vacation towards the spread of literacy. Special books should be published by the State, showing easy ways for the spread of literacy and general knowledge.

14. *Superstitious Beliefs, etc.*—It is difficult to assess the backwardness due to superstitious beliefs, but this kind of backwardness is spread over the whole world. This can be overcome by regular and systematic teaching of science and inductive logic. A sustained campaign against blind belief in magic, fate and superstitions, should be carried on. Much of caste prejudices and race prejudices could be removed, and racial amity fostered by a systematic attack on superstitious beliefs and blind prejudices, religious or otherwise.

15. *Understanding of Modern Times and its Amenities*—This is the crux of most of the backwardness amongst the masses. Systematic classes must be held throughout the country, and all the educational methods and psychological aids should be utilised to enthuse, both social servants and the masses, for the spread of correct ideas about health, use of money, systems of administration, laws of psychology, sociology, ethics and spirituality.

Group prejudices and race prejudices should be analysed. Religious beliefs should be subjected to a close but sympathetic criticism of reason and logic. Latest instances of social prejudices should be analysed in detail and their hollowness exposed and then, people should be encouraged consciously to befriend those who are distant geographically, psychologically and culturally, thus leading to universal brotherhood and familyhood of all races.

Difficulties of the Next Census

67. We have recommended that the next census should give all the necessary information about castes and sub-castes. It would certainly be a valuable material for the sociologists and the anthropologists. Social reformers will profit by it. Demography the world over will be thankful if all this information is supplied. But a lurking suspicion is asserting itself in my mind: Can we do it?

68. A Government can demand co-operation from its citizens and require the people to give certain information and statistics to the best of their knowledge, but can census officers force a citizen to give information which he is not prepared to volunteer? There

is a growing body of citizens in India who refuse to accept caste, and who may refuse to tell or acknowledge the caste to which they happened to belong in the past.

69. Another question is: Can census authorities prevent a man from giving his caste according to his own concept? The Sonar (goldsmith) in Maharashtra, for instance, may declare his caste simply as Brahman. The same Sonar in Assam may declare his caste as Harijan. A Brahman, recently, during our tour, declared that till yesterday he was a Brahman, but now he elects to be a Harijan. 'If Mahatma Gandhi could do it why not I?', was his argument. There are many priests amongst the Harijans who have started calling themselves Brahmans. Who can prevent them from doing so? The great saint poet of Maharashtra, Sant Tukaram was a Bania by caste, but he always called himself a Sudra. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel belonged to one of the dominant communities of Gujrat, viz. Patidars. There was a case in court, and the question was whether the Patidars should be regarded as Kshatrias or Vaishyas. By occupation they are farmers. Leaders of the community came to Sardar Patel and requested him to give his evidence before the court. He said he had no objection; only he would tell the court that the Patidars are Shudras. Even a Brahman may elect to be a Shudra or a Harijan.

70. The next question is: Can a secular Government force a citizen to belong or not to belong to a particular caste? A Brahman, if he becomes a Muslim or a Christian, can say that he is no longer a Brahman. Christianity and Islam will not thank him if he persisted in giving his caste as Brahman even after conversion, and the State will have no option but to record his caste as he gives it. Now, is it necessary for a Hindu Brahman to renounce his Hinduism if he is keen on dropping his caste? And can the census clerks and enumerators put down the caste of a man according to their conception in spite of the protest of the person concerned? Is it not the duty of the enumerator honestly to note down whatever information is volunteered by the citizen without trying to consider whether the information volunteered is traditionally acceptable or not? At the last census, when a census man asked me about my religion, I told him that I belonged to all religions and I accepted all religions as mine. I do not know what he wrote actually in the census returns, but I think I have a right to prosecute him, if he puts down anything which I have not volunteered.

71. There are innumerable instances where poor and ignorant citizens do not know what answer to give to certain questions, and the enumerator writes down whatever suits his own predilection or fancy. I know of cases where some people gave Hindustani as their language, and the enumerator put it down as Hindi.

72. When caste becomes politically important and parties for elections are formed on the predilections of caste, census operations will become as complicated as elections and the facts given may be challenged as not being above suspicion. I remember how, during a previous census in Assam, there was a complaint made by many people that the figures of Muslims were greatly inflated; and that is why the census returns although ready and printed, were not

published on the ground that the information may be misused by the enemy, it being war time.

73. Caste cannot stick to a man as his age, colour or sex. Caste, like religion, could be changed, as often as one likes, and there is no theocratic power in India left today which could regulate or challenge the professions of an individual. I do not think a secular State can insist on noting down the caste of a person. He may not own it and society may not recognize what the individual claimed.

74. Recently, some people belonging to the Scheduled Caste gave their caste name as Harijans. That was of course accepted, but then the State Government turned round and said that since the name Harijan is not to be found in the list of Scheduled Castes issued by the President of India, those who called themselves Harijans could not get the scholarships and concessions that were reserved for Scheduled Castes!

75. Then there is further trouble during the last fifty years and more. People have started giving new, high-sounding, and what they regard as much more respectable names, to their own caste. The Chamar, for instance, may call himself Ravidas, that being the name of a saint who was born in that community. The barbers prefer to call themselves Sena. We can have no quarrel if such a change of name of a caste created no confusion. But, take the instance of the great sage Valmiki. People say that he was originally a Brahman, but he became a fisherman, and joined the ranks of the highway-men and started murdering and looting wayfarers. Now, any Brahman can easily take Valmiki as his surname. The fishermen can call themselves Valmiki, and so can the ex-criminal tribes people. Today, some of the scavenging castes also call themselves Valmiki. Now, what are the census authorities to do? And, what is the department of education also to do?

76. English spelling and typographical mistakes also have created a number of castes, which also has led to strange confusion. Dasa is a community amongst the Shudra. Dasa means a servant or a slave. Pious people use the suffix Dasa when they accept some name of the diety as their own. Even men of the upper castes thus call themselves Dasa. Purushottamdas, Purandaradas, Prabhudas, are instances in point. And, as irony would have it, some of the Jains were divided into two groups of *ten* families and *twenty* families, popularly known as Dasa and Visa meaning ten and twenty respectively. Now, Dasa meaning ten, was also spelt DASA. So, the Dasa amongst the Jains, a flourishing mercantile community, were confused with the Shudra community, Dasa. Such difficulties could of course, be obviated by using the *Nagri* spelling of words, but it is not easy for the next census to secure detailed and accurate figures and information about castes.

77. The problem of caste and religion is bound to be further complicated by the ever growing number of inter-marriages between persons of different castes and different religions.

78. What shall be the recognized caste of persons so marrying, and that of their progeny? The old simple rule was that the wife necessarily took the caste and religion of the husband and the

children also did the same. But men marrying wives from lower castes were oftentimes outcasted and were relegated to the status of a lower caste.

79. The Roman Catholics say that if any of their girls married a non-Christian, they would not object provided that children of such union were brought up as Catholics. Sometimes the marrying couple do not wish to disturb each other's caste or religion and the children are left to choose their religion for themselves. And we shall soon have a body of citizens who will declare that they belong to no caste and no religion.

80. It will be equally difficult to ascertain the different names—old and new—of the same caste and sub-caste. Propagandists will be active in persuading people to choose particular names and formulae.

81. It is already being proposed that people going in for mixed marriages should claim to belong to the lowest class and there is no authority in the land, universally recognized, that can regulate the caste of people hereafter.

82. Thus the confusion and anarchy of opinion about all communal matters is going to make the work of the next census well nigh impossible.

Dominant Communities

83. The history of the past hundred years shows that in the beginning one or two upper communities claimed that they represented the whole nation and they stood for the best interests of the people. This claim was justified in the case of a fair number of individuals belonging to those communities, but the communities as such were never free from self-seeking and self-aggrandisement. The claims of these leading communities were soon challenged by the people for various reasons. The leaders threw the blame on the foreign rulers and missionaries, complaining that these foreigners were driving a wedge between the natural leaders and the masses.

84. The claim for leadership of the people was next taken up by half a dozen other communities who were educated and modernised enough to take to education, and who attained a fair amount of social prestige. They now claimed to be the natural leaders of society and claimed also to represent the masses. A large number of these people also were justified in their claim, which they have proved by great sacrifices during the Swaraj struggle for independence. They gave up social prestige and many advantages without any regret.

And yet, these upper communities could not help being accused of being selfish and cruelly indifferent to the happiness and progress of the backward classes.

85. Social reformers and social revolutionaries who are out to break the hierarchy of caste and the privileges enjoyed so far by the upper classes from amongst Hindus, Muslims and Christians, have come from all communities including of course, the upper castes. Spiritual leaders have arisen in our country from all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Social leaders have appeared from

almost every dominant community to atone for the sins of omission and commission of their own kith and kin. But, unfortunately, these have not combined their forces and they did not dream, so far, of revolutionising the whole social structure.

86. Dominant communities the world over have been influenced by the ideals and practices of mediaeval times. The work of the social revolutionaries has been, so far, of an individualistic type. Organized forces have so far, failed to be guided by spiritual and humanistic ideals.

87. Even today the upper communities are being sought to be segregated from the masses by a few dominant individuals from amongst the backward communities, and they are trying to drive a wedge between, not only the upper classes and the lower classes, but they are trying to segregate the best amongst the social revolutionaries on the ground that a good many of them happen to belong to the advanced classes.

88. These dominant people resent any further analysis of the backward classes into the Dominant and the Victims. Self-interest drives them to raise a hue and cry that a wedge is being driven between the various sections of the backward classes. There is a movement to ignore caste distinctions, separately from amongst the advanced classes and the backward classes. They want society to be divided into two simple antagonistic groups of 'Advanced' and 'Backward'.

89. It is common knowledge that if the Harijans in villages are harassed today it is not so much the Brahman or the Bania of the village who harasses them. These communities are too passive and shrewd to take the law into their own hands, and do the dirty job of belabouring the Harijans. It is the dominant amongst the socially and educationally backward that want to maintain their social superiority of a feudal type, and it is these who are keen on maintaining the hierarchy of high and low. It is they who beat up men from the lower communities if they carry the marriage procession on horse-backs or in vehicles. It is they who harass women of the backward classes if they wear ornaments and clean dress.

90. We have in our Report, given a list of backward classes and put a star against each of those communities which are extremely backward. Those communities generally live in rural areas, and they are mostly the victims of the domination of the privileged and dominant communities among the backward classes. It should be an irony and a mockery of justice to allow such dominant communities to claim to be the natural leaders of these starred communities who are the victims of their domination. By no stretch of imagination could these dominant communities justify their claim to have certain seats and advantages reserved for them on the strength of population figures of the victim communities; and the victim communities will not thank Government if educated members of these dominant communities are given responsible posts in Government with the hope that they will protect the best interest of the starred communities. Manipulation of population figures without giving due consideration to these social and moral factors will end in miscarriage of social justice.

91. It is not impossible to find out who amongst the upper castes and dominant communities have given up their mediaeval prestige and are prepared to atone for the sins of the previous generations and are prepared, in a spirit of brotherliness, to help the backward people to rise. These could be trusted to befriend and serve the starred communities as well as others.

92. But it is not easy to guarantee that representatives of the dominant communities will not tyrannise over the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the starred communities. Tyrants and bullies cannot be made into protectors of the people by being put at the head of the backward classes.

93. The spirit of domination is a vice and a curse. It is a disease that is spread over the whole world. There are dominant races who victimise others. The European nations have shown that they could do when they got the chance of spreading over the whole world. Priests of old have dominated an ignorant and superstitious humanity. In India today, there are dominant communities even amongst the untouchables. In Maharashtra we heard the complaint that the Mahars amongst the untouchables dominated all the rest. In northern India a similar complaint was levelled against the Chamars. In the extreme south the Ezhavas and Nadars are said to dominate other Scheduled Castes.

94. It can safely be said that those who possess large tracts of land, those who have money enough to lend, those who have brains to create quarrels and factions amongst the people, and those who have the tradition of wielding governmental power, are all dominant people in rural areas. Northern India has given us the formula of AJGAR, a word formed by taking the initial letters of the four communities—Ahir, Jat, Gujjar and Rajput (Ajgar means the Boa-constrictor, that quietly swallows and leisurely digests many animals. Such Ajgar communities are to be found in both the upper and the lower castes. In Sind, the Amils dominated all the rest, whether Hindus or Muslims. In Gujerat, it was the Nagar, the Patidar and the Anavil who are said to have dominated all the rest; and sometimes, the Patanwadias or Padhiars have retaliated in desperation. In Maharashtra, besides the Brahman it is the Maratha who claimed to be the ruling community in the villages, and the Prabhu, that dominated all other communities. In Karnataka the Lingayat and the Vokkaliga, in Andhra the Kamma and the Reddy, in Tamilnad the Mudaliar and the Naidu, in Kerala, the Nair and the Ezhava, in Bengal the Kayastha and the Baidya, in Assam, the Ahom, in Bihar the Rajput and the Bhumihar, in Orissa, the Khandayat and Karnam, etc., etc., are declared to be dominant—the list is neither exhaustive nor authoritative. Some of these communities might have been accused by mistake or by prejudice, but the fact remains that there are certain communities that are dominant. The phenomenon obtains throughout the world and it is the special mission of the present age to give courage to victim communities to resist all tyranny. In England the mercantile community successfully resisted the domination of the feudal Barons during the Industrial revolution and recently, labour is successfully resisting the domination of both.

95. It is, therefore, essential that no dominating community should be allowed to claim to be the protector of the weaker sections. It is

only the good men from every community, men who are imbued with a sense of social justice, who can forget caste prejudice, are prepared to surrender their privileges and who can combine to usher in a new era of social justice and universal familyhood, that can be the natural leaders and protectors of the helpless, mute and suffering masses.

96. We have to recognize that there are certain communities who are financially well off, and yet, are educationally backward, and a good many of them have been dominating society, especially of the rural areas. In the religious or orthodox hierarchy, they may not belong to the upper castes, but by their wealth and prestige, they are dominant. Sometimes they possess vast acres of land; sometimes they have amassed sufficient capital to work as money-lenders. These landlords and money-lenders dominate the whole village scene. Upper castes like the Brahmans and the Banias have to bend before the will of these dominant communities. Even Government servants have to respect their wishes. Government servants are often-times coaxed, cajoled, bribed, and so made to connive at the traditional domination and bullying of these against the low and subservient classes.

97. I consented to include in the backward classes list such dominant communities who although not socially backward, could be regarded so because of their having neglected education. I had hoped that I could classify them into a separate sub-head and help them to fight successfully the privileges of the upper communities.

98. I wanted so to classify the backward classes that the dominant communities amongst the officially backward could successfully put up a fight against the upper castes, and yet, become impotent to tyrannise over the weaker sections amongst the backward.

99. I did not succeed in this effort because I could not carry conviction to my colleagues that these dominant communities must be segregated if the victims of domination have to be saved.

Political Leadership

100. In my own province of Maharashtra, new political and social life began with able leaders like Justice Ranade, Telang, Prof. Bhandarkar, the Hon'ble Gokhale, and Lokamanya Tilak. They started an all-round movement of political, social, religious and industrial reform and regeneration. They naturally and justifiably claimed to represent the whole nation. They got full co-operation from noble persons like Dadabhoy Nowrojee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Badruddin Tyabji, Barrister Baptista and others.

101. But a movement soon started, called the non-Brahman movement, headed by some leaders of the Maratha community, like the Raja of Kolhapur. This movement was to some extent, anti-Congress and pro-British. They also got full support from good many Muslims, Christians and others. The leaders of the non-Brahman movement asserted that the so-called leaders of the Congress were chiefly Brahmans and therefore, communal. Whereas they themselves represented the whole nation.

102. This movement travelled south and there also, the non-Brahman movement included the Muslims and the Christians. They

claimed to represent the whole nation. But, unfortunately, they fought shy of the nationalist movement led by the Congress.

103. With the advent of Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in the political field, the situation changed. The non-Brahman following discovered where their real interest lay. They saw that Mahatma Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel were non-Brahmans, and yet, they could lead the Congress and work for the betterment of the masses. And all classes worked under them. The Brahmans were the first to join their forces.

104. Orthodox leaders of the old non-Brahman movement basked in the sunshine of governmental favours, and a few families of some of the leading communities, advanced considerably. There was a general awakening in the masses to rise educationally and also socially. There were caste conferences everywhere in the country. The general trend of these conferences was to collect funds for instituting scholarships for children of their own communities. They ransacked ancient history, real or fanciful, to upgrade themselves and traced their descent from some Brahman or Kshatriya *rishi* or king of old. They also asked the Census Department to help them in collecting caste-wise figures to ascertain the strength of their population.

105. With the growth of political life and spread of education, many communities from amongst the non-Brahmans became advanced enough (although in Mysore, today, the Government recognises only the Brahmans as the advanced community and all others are officially backward, although the prominent amongst these backward communities have monopolised all political power. It is they who manage the universities also. They dominate the learned professions and trade. The Brahmans, although they have not been driven to the wall, have consented to occupy the second place). In northern India, as also in southern India, now, the position is that about half a dozen or a dozen communities are bracketed with the Brahmans. They are the leaders of today. They are now declared, of course justifiably, to be the advanced communities.

106. Their leadership of the whole nation is now being sought to be challenged.

107. It is now the turn of the dominant (and sometimes bullying) communities and individuals amongst the backward classes to claim to be the leaders of the bulk of the nation. As yet they are not claiming to be the leaders of the whole nation. With communistic ideals they could certainly do so, but today, they exclude the advanced communities from amongst them and they regard themselves to be the leaders of all the backward communities. They resent the backward communities being classified into—

- (i) slightly backward;
- (ii) more backward; and
- (iii) those who are leading a sub-human existence (We have put a star before such communities in our list).

They say, that this would create a division in their ranks. They want all the backward classes to be organized in a solid phalanx against the advanced communities and even the most nationalistic

and least communal from among the advanced communities are not allowed the right to speak for, or represent the backward communities. They are allowed to serve the backward classes no doubt, but they must do so under the guidance and leadership of these dominant amongst the backward.

108. If public life is thus allowed to be developed into a struggle between rival factions, national solidarity and strength will be weakened. The dominant amongst the backward hope to capture power and rule over the whole country. There is nothing wrong in this ambition provided they do not pit the backward classes against the advanced communities and create a conflict. Let them accept the unity and homogeneity of the nation and train themselves to lead the whole nation. Such leadership is already theirs if they can serve the whole nation including the backward classes loyally and not imitate the selfish among the upper classes in aggrandising themselves on the strength of the numbers of the blind following of the extremely backward, they can always count upon the co-operation of the best amongst the advanced classes. If they do not follow such wise policy, all administration, public life, industries and commerce, etc., may be jeopardised, and then the extremely backward will discover that they have been duped. This will give rise to a revolt from the bottom which will ultimately end in chaos.

109. I have painted this dismal picture not as a prophet but simply as a warning to all concerned. The advanced communities, especially, should recognise the signs of the times and shed their sense of superiority and aloofness, and monopolistic tendency. They should befriend one and all without any distinction. They should encourage inter-caste marriages at all levels. If no social conflict is contemplated and the Sarvodaya ideal of working for the upliftment of all, beginning with the lowest of the low, is the source of inspiration, then it is immaterial to whose hands the leadership is transferred. It is much better, if new communities are allowed to try their hand at leadership. Only those who like Nehru, are above communal considerations and even nationalistic considerations, should be allowed, to formulate the policy of the nation. It is no use challenging the leadership of the best in the land by searching out the community to which they belong, and then accusing them that they are monopolising leadership for the upper classes. All monopoly must be broken even if it is fully justified and opportunities for service must be assured to all sections of the population.

Ministry of A. B. C.

110. One important unanimous recommendation of ours is regarding the formation of a separate Ministry for the amelioration of the condition of all the backward classes.

111. The problem of backwardness is not merely one of serving a few minorities here and there, but it is a problem of the reconstruction of society itself. It is a change over from the mediaeval feudal basis to a modern democratic society based on equal respect for the personality of every individual. Far-reaching changes in human relations are necessary. If our recommendation in this regard, is accepted, the Government will have to find for this ministry a

statesman of the first rank, having widest sympathy, tact, courage and vision. Some one of the calibre of Shri Dhebar alone can do justice to this task of effecting a social revolution, envisaged in our report.

112. The *Panchkroshi* schools for the initiation of a novel type of Rural Basic Education will tax the genius of a true educationist.

113. The Samata Ashrams, recommended in the Report, will, it is hoped, herald the beginning of Sarvodaya Society.

114. The revival of village industries and handicrafts, on a nation-wide co-operative basis, will instil new life into the masses.

115. The artisan when rehabilitated, will reflect the culture of a non-violent, rural civilisation.

116. The whole movement for the liquidation of all backwardness will have to be lifted from the level of mere job-hunting and the impotent resentment at being frustrated in this pursuit.

An Explanation

117. I have always held that universal adult franchise is the best panacea against many social and political ills from which the masses suffer. The adult franchise assures even the meanest of the citizens that he has a stake in the country and that he is being governed with his own consent. I am proud that the Constituent Assembly accepted Mahatmaji's suggestion and incorporated universal adult franchise as a cardinal principle of our Constitution. By this franchise all power is already transferred to the masses. If they are not today able to wield this power, it is because they lack education and wise political guidance. I have always said that giving an additional weapon in weak hands is no remedy. I am definitely against giving special political representation or powers to anybody, over and above the universal adult franchise.

118. Some representatives of the backward classes complained that the representatives do not really represent their case because the masses do not know how to choose their representatives. I told them that their plea amounted to a suggestion that the masses do not deserve to have the vote, and therefore, it should be taken away from them.

119. This has been interpreted by certain interested persons to mean that I am against the backward classes being given any political power. It is no use answering each and every misrepresentation. A thing which has no substance in truth can safely be allowed to die a natural death. I know it is not going to harm me even temporarily because I am seeking no political power or leadership. I am also accused of saying that the masses might sell their country to India's enemies. The masses, as a whole, have never been known to sell their country, and if they did, nothing on earth can prevent them from doing so. It is generally the unscrupulous opportunists who claim to represent the people that are likely to sell their country, and this ignoble characteristic is not the monopoly of either the upper classes or the lower classes. People have been found here and there, since ancient times, to be traitors to their country. The only remedy lies in building a strong democracy, and cultivating a high

standard of political morals. Oftentimes, people sell their country through lack of political wisdom and shrewd ability to detect the wiles of the country's enemies. The remedy against this danger also is political maturity which comes only through wielding of political power by the masses.

120. In the final analysis, I stand for a social order in which neither religion nor political power are organized to control the destinies of humanity. Just as we stand for a secular democracy, I stand for a non-political social order based on mutual love, trust, respect and service. But, this has nothing to do with the universal adult franchise which I accept whole heartedly.

121. Some people might say that our Report reads more like a manifesto on behalf of the backward classes than a document giving the views of all sections of people and arriving at a considered and balanced decision by the Commission. I admit that the Report could have been written in a different way, but we thought it better to put it in the way we did, because we wanted to support our conclusions by mentioning the feelings and grievances of the backward classes. It is they who are neglected and not the upper classes. There is another reason. The upper classes, either out of apathy or out of generosity for the backward classes, did not care to come out with their views before the Commission. They perhaps thought that this was another enquiry on behalf of another minority, and they had no objection if some provision was made for these people also. In fact, many people even in responsible positions believed and still believe, that the Commission was out to enquire into the condition of the Harijans and the Girijans. Many people, highly placed in Government and in public life, repeated this misconception to our great astonishment and regret. It was to warn such people that I was driven to broadcast an article about 'the Emergence of a New Leadership'. Even this article was noticed, mainly by the representatives of the backward classes. This article was followed by a radio talk in which I pleaded for an atmosphere of brotherly co-operation and not one of antagonism and social conflict.

122. Towards the end of our enquiry, we have come to the conclusion that caste, communal or denominational considerations need not be introduced in the educational policy. A progressive, modern welfare State, cannot afford to tolerate educational backwardness anywhere in the State. In most of the modern States, more than 60 per cent of the scholars receive full educational aid. In India, it should be possible for the State to give educational aid to all the poor and deserving students in the country, irrespective of caste, sex or denomination. Whenever it is necessary to show preference it must be for women and for students of rural areas. The present preference for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be continued for some time, but the time has come when all the poor and deserving should, and could, be helped, so that no communal consideration need be introduced in the field of education.

123. It will be recognized that the Report gives expression both to the fears and aspirations that have no bearing for the future. It is but natural that backward people should think of their woes of the past. Very few people have the gift of realising the gathering forces of tomorrow and those that suffered in the past cannot easily

begin to believe any glowing picture of the future. It is not by criticising them for their narrowness of outlook, but by introducing them as honoured members of the nation, to the benefits of the glorious future we are building, that they will shed their fears of the past and only then that the narrow and pigmy aspirations which they had hugged to their bosom will give place to new and brighter hope.

124. Lastly, it is my pleasant duty to thank all those who contributed to the success of our labours.

125. To begin with, I must thank the various co-opted members who, even at the shortest notice, consented to tour with the Commission in their respective States and helped us with their local knowledge.

126. I must also thank the various public leaders and representatives of the various institutions serving the backward classes. Some of them were extremely frank and made us ponder over the many and conflicting sides of the problem.

127. The officers who were deputed by the State Governments to accompany the Commission were uniformly helpful and obliging and lightened our task considerably.

128. We were able to discuss freely and frankly with the Ministers of the various States. We are grateful for the courtesy shown to us by them.

129. I must here express my personal and heartfelt gratitude to all my colleagues for their wonderful co-operation and consideration. They were kind enough to put up with my many short-comings and irregularities.

130. The whole work of the office was shouldered by the Member-Secretary, Shri Arunangshu De, thus sparing my time for the main task.

131. The official secretaries from Shri Raman to Shri Nagar helped us with their intimate knowledge of governmental machinery and its procedure.

132. Everything depended on the willing, able and enthusiastic co-operation of the section officers. I must thank the Government for selecting Shri Gupta and Shri Sareen for our work. They displayed tact and understanding at every step, and with their own hard work, inculcated the same spirit in the staff.

133. The Research Section was started as my special hobby, but it soon developed into an important section. The Research Officers worked as hard as the rest of the staff, collecting and collating valuable material.

134. Shri S. K. Murthy worked as my Private-Secretary. He worked diligently throughout the two years of the Commission's work. He could be trusted with any confidential work.

135. I must not forget the silent and devoted service of the office staff down to the peons who oftentimes had to work hard beyond

office hours. My heart goes out to them in their domestic joys and anxieties.

136. I must express my special obligation to Shri Datar (the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs) and Shri Laxmidas Shrikant (Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) for taking a keen personal interest in our work.

137. And most of all I am grateful to you, Rashtrapatiji, for giving us this valuable opportunity of studying the condition of a neglected and yet most lovable section of our nation and of serving them through this enquiry.

Yours Sincerely
KAKA KALELKAR

*Chairman
Backward Classes Commission*



सत्यमेव जयते

Post Script 1

The Handloom Weaver and the Ambar Yarn

We have unanimously come to the conclusion that for the economic, educational and cultural rehabilitation of one of the biggest backward classes in India, it is essential that the village textile industry should be revived. We have unanimously recommended that first preference should be given to the Khadi industry and nothing should be done that may come in the way of the full and speedy development of Khadi. But the present limitations of our resources have set a limit to the production of Khadi in India. The remaining non-Khadi sector of textiles should, therefore, be reserved for the handloom, to the exclusion of mill or foreign cloth. We have recommended, in effect, that mill cloth should be prohibited from competing either with Khadi or handloom cloth. The mills may be helped to export their products to neighbouring countries.

2. In this connection, we have recommended that wherever Khadi is not able to occupy a field, Government should arrange for the adequate supply of mill yarn, both coloured and uncoloured at reasonable rates to the handloom weavers. We also recommended that State Governments may start spinning mills to ensure such regular supply of yarn.

3. But a new and efficient instrument of production of yarn has recently been developed. It is known as Ambar Charkha. The strength, evenness and durability of yarn from this Charkha is in no way inferior to the mill yarn. Ambar yarn is definitely and decidedly superior in strength and evenness to hand-spun yarn. The Ambar Charkha is practically a domestic mill, for the production of good yarn.

4. I am certain that my colleagues would not have objected to the following proposal if it was placed before them, at the time of finalizing our Report. I knew about the Ambar Charkha, but was not confident that it could be recommended as a practical proposition for the full supply of yarn that is necessary to make all the handlooms work, but my recent visit to the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri, and my detailed discussions with people that know, has emboldened me to make the following proposals:—

Government should manage to produce Ambar Charkhas in large numbers and supply them to the villages. Government can also arrange to work the Ambar Charkhas with electric power and thereby supply quality-yarn to the handloom.

It has been found that even those weavers who find it difficult to weave hand-spun yarn, have no difficulty in utilizing the Ambar Yarn.

The production of Ambar yarn is tantamount to decentralising the spinning mill industry with little capital, and the employment of more people than the mill industry can assure. I, therefore, recommend that next to the protection, given to Khadi, the State Government would do well to employ all handlooms for the production both of the utility cloth and artistic cloth, with the help of the Ambar yarn.

Christians and Non-Christian Tribals

5. During our tours of various States, we heard bitter complaints from non-Christian tribals that owing to the peculiar policy of the Government they did not get all the advantages which they ought to get and which the Christian tribals generally get in abundance.

6. They said that "during British rule, the Christian Missionaries had a privileged position. Indian social servants were prevented from going into the excluded areas where the tribals lived. The Missionaries had the full monopoly there. Consequently the Christian tribals got better education in English; naturally they got into Government service and generally their position was greatly improved. We knew that under British rule, it could not be otherwise:

"But even after the advent of 'Swaraj', conditions have not changed. Most of the concessions given by the Swaraj Government towards the betterment of the tribals go to the Christian tribals. The Christian Missions have now better facilities of proselytization and the number of Missionaries in the midst of the tribals has increased.

"Even in the matter of political representation, it is the Christian tribals that generally manage to get our votes and they claim to represent the whole of the tribal population with the result that there is a political pressure put on non-Christian tribals to accept Christianity." We are surprised that even under Swaraj we are not safe in our devotion to our own religion."

7. This complaint of the non-Christian tribals has quite a different complexion from usual complaint of ordinary Hindus against the proselytization work of the Christian Missionaries. Hindus are politically conscious enough to understand a policy of being extra fair to and placating the Christians in order to overcome the narrow prejudices of Hindus against non-Hindus; but the tribals cannot be expected to relish such differential treatment and what they regard as partially against them and in favour of Christian tribals.

8. We have, therefore, to consider the following points:—

- (i) Christians and Muslims are not satisfied with being treated indifferently as Indian citizens. They want special consideration and recognition for themselves. The Hindus are not allowed to say "treat all Indian citizens as one, and don't divide us into Hindus and non-Hindus." But when it comes to the position of tribals, division of the tribals into Christian tribals and non-Christian tribals is not favoured. Any such attempt is wounding the solidarity of the Christian tribals with the non-Christian tribals. The result is that Christian tribals being better educated and better organized, have an opportunity of claiming to be the leaders of all the tribals. In a population of nearly 2 crores of tribals, the Christian tribals are only 4 lakhs and yet they are allowed to be the leaders of the 2 crores.

No body is against the help given to the Christian tribals. Let them be given better posts in Government service because of their advancement; let them be treated with whatever special consideration the Government finds it necessary. But why should they be allowed to be the leaders of all the non-Christian tribals and why should the non-Christian tribals be left to be the victims of the policy of domination of the Christian tribals.

(ii) The English language continues to be the medium of administration even after the advent of Swaraj, with the result that those who know English form an upper caste and have a better chance of getting Government services especially in the upper grades. So far as Hindus and Muslims are concerned, this situation may wound their national pride but it does not wound their prospects; but with the tribals, so long as English is a medium of administration, only Christian tribals will prosper under Swaraj Government and non-Christians will not be able to raise their head for many generations to come. Even in Jamshedpur the Christian tribals are in the ascendant. They get all the upper employments in the Tata Factories because they are English educated.

(iii) As the Anthropologists love to declare, the tribals are animists. Hinduism has never disowned animistic groups. Hinduism is broad enough to accept the whole gamut of religious progress from extreme fetishism and animism to the highest flights of Vedanta, and Indian culture from the earliest times has always accepted the tribals as part and parcel of the Hindu fold. It is cruel, therefore, to regard the tribals as non-Hindus. But perhaps the propaganda of British officers and Christian Missionaries has succeeded and some of the tribals are calling themselves non-Hindus. It is surprising that even the Swaraj Government is equally fond of dividing the tribals into animists and Hinduised tribals. Only Christian tribals are not separated from non-Christians.

9. The Christian Missionaries pressed upon the Government to recognize ordinary Christians as a distinct community from the Hindus and they say this distinction must be observed because the Christians are in a minority. Then why not classify the tribals into Christian tribals and non-Christian tribals?

10. The Muslims and the Christians are minorities. Any special consideration shown to them is not going to endanger the solidarity of the Indian nation. It will be strengthened. Let Christian tribals be given every facility for their betterment, but let not the non-Christian tribals be put under the domination of the Christian tribals.

11. The very purpose of the Backward Classes Commission is to help the under-dog to save himself from the domination of the upper-dog. But here in the case of the tribals, we are allowing the non-Christian tribals to be dominated by the Christian tribals.

12. We are not anxious to curtail honest proselytizing activities of the Christians although the Christians say that it is their religious duty and political right to go about asking all non-Christians to drop their own religion and accept Christianity. But it is one thing to permit the Christian Missionaries to preach their religion without any let or hindrance, but it is another thing to give help to the proselytizing agencies through the tax payers' money, to dominate the non-Christian tribals.

Kaka Kalelkar
Chairman

Sindhi Refugees

Post Script 2

I am sorry, in the stress of various discussions, I entirely forgot to add a Chapter on Sindhi Refugees in my forwarding note. I do it now and hope that the following will kindly be incorporated in it.

I know Government is alive to the difficulties of Sindhis and is doing its best to relieve their sufferings but there are some of their difficulties which could be removed only by pursuing a policy which the Backward Classes Commission could recommend with propriety.

The Sindhi Hindus are an energetic and resourceful community. The way they have met the calamity has evoked admiration from all, but their woes are many. I would suggest, therefore, that all the Sindhi refugees should be regarded temporarily i.e. for the next 7 years, as a backward community and they should be given all the facilities, especially in the matter of scholarships for education, and priority in Government Service. One thing that specially came under our notice is that although some of them may not need any financial assistance, their children need the same special facilities for admission into institutes of higher and technical learning as are accorded to the members of backward communities. Sindhis had to leave their hearths and homes and they were forced to spread out and settle down in distant parts of the country. They had to suffer from the difficulty of language and oftentimes there was none who could sponsor their cause. Given proper facilities for admission into institutes of higher learning, Sindhis would make the best use of this concession and within a few years cease to be a dependent community.

Sindhi girls need special assistance and protection. I need not go into the details of this, but I hope Government will understand the need of the situation and declare the Sindhi refugees especially their women as a temporarily backward community for the next seven years.

Kaka Kalelkar
Chairman



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Main Report

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Origin

1. In view of the varied conditions of development among the different communities of India, from the primitive to the most advanced, the framers of the Indian Constitution deemed it necessary to make adequate provisions for the protection and uplift of the backward classes and to afford equal opportunities for advancement in order to bring them up to a common level. The Constitution envisages the establishment, at an early date, of a classless and casteless society, free from all kinds of exploitation. The Preamble to the Constitution makes this abundantly clear, and the relevant provisions are included in Articles 15(4), 16(4), 38, 39(c), 41, 43, 45, 46, 330 and 344.

2. The claims of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for political representation and for special aid for the speedy amelioration of their conditions, were recognized and adequate safeguards were incorporated in the Constitution. Besides these two groups, there were other communities, castes or social groups which were also backward socially and educationally. No definite provision could be made for these social groups on account of paucity of information regarding their backwardness. It was thought necessary, therefore, to collect data regarding the conditions of these communities. Article 340 pertains specifically to the Other Backward Classes and contains the following provisions:—

- “(1) The President may, by order, appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made, and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.
- (2) The Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.
- (3) The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of Parliament.”

3. It will be observed that the foregoing provisions are distinct from those in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who also constitute a section of the backward classes and whose interests are watched over by a Special Officer appointed by the President under the provisions of Article 338 of the Constitution.

4. The President, in pursuance of Article 340, appointed the Backward Classes Commission consisting of the following persons:—

1. Shri Rakasaheb Kalelkar, M.P., Chairman.
2. Shri Narayan Sadoba Kajrolkar, M.P.
3. Shri Bheekha Bhai, M.P.
4. Shri Shivdayal Singh Chaurasia.
5. Shri Rajeshwar Patel, M.P.
6. Shri Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, M.L.A. (Bihar).
7. Shri T. Mariappa, M.L.A. (Mysore).
8. Lala Jagannath.
9. Shri Atma Singh Namdhari, M.P.
10. Shri N. R. M. Swamy, M.P.
11. Shri Arunangshu De, (Member-Secretary).

(Vide Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 70/53-Public, dated the 29th January 1953).

5. Unfortunately, one of the members, Shri Atma Singh Namdhari, M.P., died on 7th January 1954. Dr. Anup Singh, M.P., was nominated in his place on 27th February 1954. Another member, Lala Jagannath, resigned from the membership to take up another appointment, and Shri F. G. Shah was appointed in his place with effect from 2nd August 1954.

Terms of Reference

6. The terms of reference of the Commission as announced in the Notification were:

The Backward Classes Commission shall—

- (a) determine the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any sections of the people in the territory of India (in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes specified by notifications issued under Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution) should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes; and, in accordance with such criteria, prepare a list of such classes setting out also their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution;
- (b) investigate the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour:
and make recommendations—
 - (i) as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties or to improve their condition; and
 - (ii) as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made;
- (c) investigate such other matters as the President may hereafter refer to them; and
- (d) present to the President a Report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

The Commission may—

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and such manner as they may think appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments and such other authorities, organizations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission be of assistance to them;
- (b) hold their sittings or the sittings of such sub-committees as they may appoint from amongst their own members at such times and such places as may be determined by, or under the authority of the Chairman; and
- (c) visit or depute a sub-committee of theirs to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or convenient.

During the Commission's visits to any State and during any sittings held by the Commission or any of their sub-committees in any State, the Commission may co-opt two persons, who belong to that State and who are members of backward classes, to be additional members of the Commission or the sub-committee, as the case may be, during such visits or such sittings, provided that at least one of such co-opted members shall be a woman.

The Commission shall endeavour to present their report to the President not later than the 31st January 1954.

7. As the enquiry could start only after the 18th March 1953, the report could not be completed within the time stipulated. The term of the Commission was, therefore, extended up to 31st March 1955.

Inauguration

8. On the 18th March 1953, the President inaugurated the Commission. Speaking on the occasion both the President and the Prime Minister expressed the hope that the labours of the Commission would pave the way for a classless society in the country. The Prime Minister disliked the term "backward classes" and remarked that it was basically wrong to label any section of the people as backward even if they were so, particularly when 90 per cent. of the people in the country were poor and backward. The Chairman of the Commission said that a social revolution was needed to enable the backward people to come up and to liquidate caste and class differences. To decide as to who were the backward people, the Scheduled Castes (i.e. Harijans), the Scheduled Tribes (i.e. Girijans) and the Other Backward Classes (Itarejans) would have to be considered together, although the lists had already been prepared in respect of Harijans and Girijans. The then Home Minister, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, outlining the task before the Commission in his speech on the occasion, explained that the Commission was required not only to determine who were the backward people deserving assistance, apart from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but also to recommend specific measures for their uplift. Referring to the personnel of the Commission, Dr. Katju mentioned that as Government wanted a business-like body, they had to restrict the number of members. Many people whom they would have liked to include could not be so included. It

should not, however, be imagined that unless particular communities or groups of persons were represented on the Commission, their cause would go by default.

Plan of Work

9. The Commission held its first sitting in New Delhi on the 18th March, 1953, and several sittings subsequently, at which the plan of work was chalked out. According to the time-limit, the Commission had only about 9 months within which it was required to visit 27 States, give interviews, hold discussions and conclude its labours. It was not possible to plan for a detailed research into the history of the several communities coming under the Other Backward Classes. Efforts were, therefore, made to collect as much information as possible from the various sources and to conclude the work within the time prescribed. A comprehensive questionnaire was drawn up for obtaining the necessary information from the State Governments and the general public. A date was also fixed for the receipt of replies and representations. This was later relaxed in response to pressing demands from the State Governments and the general public.

10. The questionnaire was translated into as many of our regional languages as possible so that it might reach the masses. Appeals were issued to the Press more than once to keep the problem of the backward classes before the public and to create keen nation-wide interest in and realization of the importance of the enquiry. Tours were planned and programmes were drawn up in consultation with the States concerned. Wide publicity was given to the tour programme of the Commission for each State. Representatives of the backward classes were also kept informed of the programme of the Commission to enable them to meet the Commission to present their cases.

11. During the course of their visit to the States the Commission often divided itself into groups or sub-committees and visited various centres for the purpose of receiving representations or examining witnesses that appeared before them. They also visited educational and social service institutions, Harijan colonies and backward class localities.

12. Some of the States arranged modest exhibitions of arts and crafts and for parties of folk dances and music peculiar to backward classes and Scheduled Tribes.

13. The Commission also held discussions with the Ministers, Secretaries, and Heads of Departments of Governments on the problems of the backward classes.

14. The statement in Appendix I gives details of the tour, including the places visited, mileage covered, memoranda received and the number of persons interviewed.

15. In view of the short time at our disposal it was not possible to plan for detailed investigation into the background of the various communities, however, interesting and useful that study might have been. The work had to be adjusted according to the time available, and accordingly a programme of work was also drawn up. Research Officers were appointed to assist the staff to scrutinise the evidence.

collected and the memoranda and the replies received, and to prepare a brief description of castes and communities under investigation.

16. The evidence collected from the State Governments and from the representatives of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was separately scrutinised for the purpose of revising the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Scope of the Terms of Reference

17. According to the terms of reference the innumerable Other Backward Classes and not the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were the chief concern of the Commission. This position had to be explained to the general public in clear terms time and again. In spite of such clarifications, however, there has been a persistent misunderstanding about the scope of the terms of reference of the Commission. While it is true that Scheduled Castes (Harijans) and the Scheduled Tribes (Girijans) are backward there are other backward classes who have been sadly neglected for centuries past. It was also explained that the Government of India had already a fair conception of the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for whose welfare they had already appointed a special officer. And yet, organizations of Harijans and their leaders came forward with their views, grievances and suggestions for the betterment of their lot. This showed that there is an awakening among the Harijans and that they are vocal enough to assert their claims for the redress of grievances. Even State Governments were profuse in supplying information about the Harijans. This is not to be wondered at. The problem of the Harijans has been prominently before the country for the past many years. On the other hand, there were only a few representations on behalf of the Scheduled Tribes.

18. We gave, however, a patient hearing to the representatives of both the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The reason why the Commission heard these classes was that in the first instance it was good policy to let these backward classes feel that the Commission was not indifferent to their problems. The Commission, was equally anxious to avail itself of every opportunity of knowing their conditions and understanding their minds. It helped the Commission to collect material for the revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a task subsequently entrusted to it by the President. Another reason was that the status of the various communities was indeterminate and the classifications already made sometimes required revision. It also helped the Commission to understand the scope and implications of the ameliorative measures already undertaken.

19. The Commission noticed in the course of its enquiry that in almost every State there were cases of omissions in the existing lists. There were complaints about certain communities having been wrongly classed as Harijans. Enquiries were made about the latter and although the untouchability of some of these communities was merely nominal, there was no doubt about their backwardness and it was, therefore, felt proper to retain all such names in the list.

Questionnaire

20. The problem of backwardness is a world problem and has to be studied in the light of the world situation. There are backward nations, backward races, backward areas, nay, even backward and

underdeveloped continents. While certain races and countries may be said to be politically backward, others may be backward in the field of science. Certain groups and races are regarded as backward by other groups, who, out of arrogance and self-esteem consider themselves superior. The standards of social justice vary from State to State and from country to country. Solutions which may not seem necessary or justifiable when considered on a small scale find their justification when considered on the canvas of the whole world.

21. Commissions for the study of backwardness of social groups are not likely to be appointed frequently. It was, therefore, necessary to study the problems thoroughly in all aspects and covering a fairly wide field; but realising the urgency of submitting a solution for the betterment of backward people, the Commission endeavoured to finish its labours within a limited period, confining itself strictly to its terms of reference. It took special pains in drawing up an exhaustive questionnaire of nearly 200 questions under 24 sub-heads (*vide* Appendix II). A questionnaire of such a nature, apart from the answers it evokes, provides an element of education to the people and focusses their attention on the magnitude of the backwardness under which a large part of the population is labouring. It also suggests to social workers new avenues of research and service.

22. Though the questionnaire set the people thinking, as was evident to the Commission during their tours in various parts of the country, the replies received from the State Governments were not uniformly satisfactory. A few States seem to be alive to the momentous changes that are likely to result not only from our enquiry but also from the awakening that this enquiry has aroused in the hearts of the backward classes. Others, unfortunately, have treated the questionnaire as if it were a routine communication. These States had often to be reminded that the Commission needed adequate answers and even the reminders had very little effect.

23. The replies and the memoranda received from the various individuals and organizations of the backward classes also showed lack of study, and revealed their inability to furnish full information. From the replies, it was evident that there was very little original or radical thinking on their part. There was a dull mechanical uniformity in the demands put forward and every community pleaded it was extremely backward and that it needed all possible help in various spheres. Nobody seemed to have tackled the genesis of backwardness of such a large section of the population and very few seemed to have thought out proper remedies to remove backwardness effectively.

24. And yet it is clear that the ferment has reached the masses. They have, for the first time in thousands of years, shed their traditional resignation to fate and started hoping that their condition can be improved, that they will be able to take their rightful place in the social structure of tomorrow and that they will have their due share in all schemes of national advancement.

25. The immediate effect of this ferment was marked in the form of uneasiness and impatience, and some measure of bitterness also, in the minds of the people. These symptoms cannot be ignored because they are indicative of the birth of a new energy which must be

canalised into creative effort and constructive activity. There remains no longer any belief in the sanctity of the caste-hierarchy having been established by the will of God.

Initial Handicap

26. The Commission experienced a great handicap almost at the outset. Expecting that all the statistics would be available with the State Governments, the Commission started its work in the comparatively advanced State of Mysore. A tour of two States as far away as Himachal Pradesh in the north-west and Assam in the north-east also brought us face to face with the same difficulties. For, we discovered that the relevant statistics so necessary for our enquiry were not available with the State Governments. The plea advanced was that no caste-wise statistics had been collected during the Census of 1951, except to some extent in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and some other special groups. Both administrators and Census officers pleaded their inability to supply the relevant material. Figures furnished by the various communities were chiefly a matter of guess work and their numbers were often exaggerated. The caste-wise statistics in the previous Census Reports were not compiled on a uniform basis throughout India and were, therefore, not of much use.

27. How far and to what extent the omission to enumerate caste-wise statistics during the Census of 1951 was a handicap, can be judged by the terms of reference of the Commission, which required us to investigate the condition of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour and to prepare a list of such classes, setting out their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution.

28. We realise that the chief reason which must have weighed with the Government of India for drastically changing the Census computation was that caste-wise figures helped to perpetuate caste-distinction. The whole question regarding the enumeration of castes in the Census has been examined elsewhere in this Report. But we would like to record here that the Census of 1961 should collect and tabulate all the essential figures caste-wise. We are also of the opinion that if it is possible this should be carried out in 1957 instead of in 1961, in view of the importance of the problems affecting backward classes. If it is not possible to advance the date for Census enumeration, then a random sample survey for a proper assessment of the conditions of the individual communities should be carried out as soon as possible.

29. The necessity for caste-wise statistics will disappear only when all the backward communities are able to come up to the general level of other communities and to participate in the opportunities provided by the State on terms of equality. This, of course, is a solution for the future.

30. The difficulties regarding the statistics were brought to the notice of the Ministry of Home Affairs, who kindly arranged a conference of the representatives of the Census Department, the Multipurpose National Sample Survey, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Finance, the Reserve Bank, the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education. The meeting was held for

two days under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs but the discussions did not bring us any nearer the solution.

31. In the absence of reliable facts and figures, the only course open to us was to rely on the statistics available from the various Governments and the previous Census Reports, and to go by the general impressions of Government officers, leaders of public opinion and social workers. The Census Department have furnished us with approximate population figures for most of the communities, but we assume no responsibility for the reliability or finality of these figures. We feel, however, that the conclusions that we have drawn from the mass of material collected by us are fairly satisfactory.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER II

CENSUS AND CASTE

1. In the first chapter, we have mentioned the handicaps under which we had to work and the difficulties we had in obtaining reliable data about the sections of the people which should be treated as socially and educationally backward, and in preparing lists setting out their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution. We had also to investigate conditions of all such backward classes. For this purpose we required information about the percentage of literacy and the average level of education and employment among them. We revert to this subject here to indicate what steps should be taken in future to remove the important lacunae in the sociological and demographic data of this country.

2. The arrangements for the 1951 Census, "which was the first census held under orders of the Republic of free India", formed a great advance in many ways, but two factors contributed to the serious lacunae which made our task extremely difficult. First was the abolition of caste for the purposes of full enumeration and tabulation and the second was the subordination of all ethnological material by the zeal to over-emphasise the economic data. These factors led to a loss of continuity in the information usually contained in the Indian Census Report, which had developed into a decennial document of great importance to the ethnologists, sociologists and demographers throughout the world.* "The 1951 Census was not to concern itself with question regarding races, castes and tribes, except in so far as the necessary statistical material relating to special groups was to be published, and certain other material relating to backward classes collected and made over to the Backward Classes Commission. On the other hand it was enjoined that the maximum possible attention should be paid to economic data."†

3. Under the old arrangements, the Census Superintendent was selected for his interest in the ethnological and cultural life of the people and during his tenure of appointment for about three years, besides arranging for the mechanics of the Census operations, used to take interest in the sociological changes to enable him to collect information describing the general demographic conditions within his region. But at the present Census, the officers were chosen not for "any specialised knowledge or aptitude for making statistical computation or for carrying out economic and social research,"† but for their "intimate knowledge of the administrative machinery".

4. (a) The problem of caste in Census was summed up by Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel in his address to the Census Conference in February 1950. "Formerly there used to be elaborate caste tables which were required in India partly to satisfy the theory that it was a caste-ridden country, and partly to meet the needs of administrative measures dependent upon caste division. In the forthcoming Census

* Census of India, 1951 Vol. I.

† Page 10, *ibid.*

this will no longer be a prominent feature." This was the most important of the various changes introduced at the 1951 Census. The provision of a Census Act, the creation of a permanent office of the Registrar General, provision for the maintenance of a National Register of Citizens, the system of permanent house-numbering and the retention of the preliminary enumeration of the "special groups," have all been new features of great importance. But the subordination of ethnological material and the omission of caste in enumeration and tabulation has been a matter of great loss to all students of sociology and social welfare.

(b) The census questionnaire was reduced to 14 questions and the old question of previous census regarding "Race, Tribe or Caste and Religion" was replaced by another regarding "(a) Nationality, (b) Religion and (c) Special Groups." This change was welcomed at that time as a visible sign of the firm determination to stamp out caste. But the caste is an ancient institution found in some shape or another throughout the world. Its unique form in India, though doomed to slow death, has unfortunately survived notwithstanding the heroic attempts of Buddhism, Jainism and scores of modern religious and social reformers. "Casteism survives even in political elections in spite of its official death." Before the disease of caste is destroyed, all facts about it have to be noted and classified in a scientific manner as in a clinical record.

(c) The provision of "special groups" to enumerate the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, Anglo-Indians and Backward Classes was a wise one and in consonance with the pronouncement of Sardar Patel quoted above. It was also in consonance with the provision of Article 340 about "the socially and educationally backward classes." If these provisions had been faithfully and fully implemented, it would have been possible to get all the data regarding these special groups on the lines available in the Census previous to 1931, where tabulation for individual castes and tribes was made. The 1951 Census provided that the enumerator had to ask a question as to whether the person belonged to any special group specified by the State Government and if the reply was clear, the person's name was recorded under the specially selected name of the caste or tribe or class. But the details were not followed up in tabulation of all data; only the total of the numbers in each of the groups of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes was recorded. The Census compilations specially compiled for and submitted to the Backward Classes Commission by the Census Department consist of total numbers of persons under each of these groups for each State arranged district-wise, but no figures showing the distribution of each of the communities mentioned under the special group are available. We wish we had before us the compiled figures for each community even with regard to the limited number of communities in the Other Backward Classes group with the usual information on "Principal means of livelihood", "Secondary means of livelihood", "Literacy and Education", "Unemployment", etc.

(d) Figures supplied to us by the Census Department gave the aggregate number of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and of a limited number of communities in Other Backward Classes group. This could not help us to decide about the approximate population of

each community. Moreover, there was no authoritative list of Other Backward Classes. The Ministry of Education had one list. The Census assumed another, and it was entrusted to us to supply an authoritative list, in the absence of which the figures for the Other Backward Classes given either under Census or by the Ministry of Education, could not, by the very nature of the case, be authoritative or accurate.

(e) Further as a result of the conference mentioned in the next paragraph (a) we have been supplied State-wise compilations of the "estimated population by castes in 1951". Figures of each caste were not separately extracted in case of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes which were enumerated as "special groups". "No caste-wise figures are available for 1941 Census, except for a few selected castes and these for a few selected districts only". The figures for 1951 have been estimated on the basis of the figures of the previous censuses by applying the growth percentage of the population as a whole. Some minor adjustments have been made in the estimated figures of Scheduled Castes in order to make the total tally with the 1951 Census total. We cannot consider this method of compilation either satisfactory or reliable, but we had to utilize whatever materials were made available to us.

5. At the Conference held by the Home Ministry, we had pressed for information regarding (i) the approximate figures for the various castes and communities and their territorial distribution, (ii) the percentage of literacy among both men and women of the various communities for rural and urban areas, (iii) the average *per capita* income of the representative backward and non-backward communities in rural and urban areas, (iv) the domestic handicrafts and village industries which would contribute to the betterment of the backward classes, (v) the recent changes in village economy and the village financing which have rendered village communities especially of the artisan type financially backward. Attempts made subsequent to the conference have not been helpful. The Commission has been able to get some information only regarding (i) and (iv) which is not of very satisfactory type, while the other items remain uncompiled. Hopes were raised by the offer of the National Sample Survey Organisation, but they reported that they could not obtain the information about the various communities which formed the subject of the terms of reference of the Commission, without undertaking an entirely new investigation which could not be completed within the time available for us. The All-India Agricultural Enquiry Organisation has, however, summarised for us 100 typical schedules of some backward class families employed in agricultural work in the States of Madras and Bihar and this information is printed as Appendix III. The literacy figures are not available for 1951 for any of the backward communities and the Commission is driven to the queer position of having to refer in 1954-55 to the figures of literacy recorded against a community in 1931, a date nearly quarter of a century back. These facts are mentioned to indicate the extent to which we were handicapped in the task referred to us by the President, and, what is more important, to suggest that the 1961 Census has to be remodelled and re-organised so as to secure the required information on the following lines:—

- (1) Now that there is a Census Act and permanent office of Registrar General and Census Commissioner, the Census

operations should be conducted as a well-equipped continuous organization competent to supply the information on various topics of sociological importance. The records should be carefully preserved and arranged systematically, and the difficulties in recompilation that hampered our work should not recur.

- (2) The Census Offices in the States and in Centre must have permanent ethnologists, or sociologists in addition to the economists attached to them for collection, co-ordination and interpretation of necessary data regarding social changes. This staff of social scientists should not be given administrative work.
- (3) As long as social welfare and social relief has to be administered through classes or groups, full information about these groups should be obtained and tabulated. We suggest a revised form of Census slip.
- (4) We suggest that the bulk of the temporary staff required for the census should be recruited from social workers and village level workers of the Planning and Development Departments. A few of the them may have to be retained in each district for making available the statistical information required in connection with social relief to the backward classes. Some who are properly trained would provide the nuclear staff required for the numerous sample and social surveys that are being organized throughout the country by Governments, universities and research organizations.
- (5) Information should be recorded wherever available regarding estimated annual income and annual expenditure of the earning member of a family. There are great difficulties in getting reliable data on this point but with a large number of village level workers and social workers an attempt might be made to collect the information.
- (6) The slip should contain information on the following points:—
 - (i) Full name and relationship to the head of the household.
 - (ii) Tribe or Caste and Nationality.
 - (iii) Religion.
 - (iv) Civil condition i.e. whether married, unmarried, widowed or divorced.
 - (v) Age.
 - (vi) Sex.
 - (vii) Birth-place.
 - (viii) Mother-tongue.
 - (ix) Languages with which the person is fairly conversant.
 - (x) Dependency and employment.

- (xi) Traditional occupation.
- (xii) Principal means of livelihood.
- (xiii) Secondary means of livelihood.
- (xiv) (a) Literacy and
(b) Education.
- (xv) Unemployment.
- (xvi) Social disability, if any.
- (xvii) Annual income and expenditure (estimated).
- (xviii) Disease, if any, hereditary or otherwise.



CHAPTER III

CASTE AND SOCIETY

1. The first two of our terms of reference require "the determination of the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any sections of the people in India (in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be treated as socially and educationally backward and the investigation of the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour." The implications of these terms of reference must be studied in the context of the peculiar social conditions prevailing in India. The institution of caste being the basis on which society has been organised for the past several generations, it is necessary to study its evolution through the ages.

2. Many writers including some early European scholars have propounded various theories explaining the growth of caste. Census Commissioners, in particular, have written voluminously on the origin, evolution and ramification of the caste system.

3. We do not propose to trace the evolution of the Hindu social order stage by stage with full historical background, nor is it necessary for our purpose to enter into a detailed discussion of the varied aspects of caste. We are not concerned with the ethnographical study of various tribes and races which form the sub-stratum of the present sociological order. It is not necessary for us to go into any details of the anthropometric classification or the ethnographical studies in the labyrinth of castes. We are mainly concerned with the pernicious effects of caste resulting in disruption and disunity and consequent backwardness of many communities in India.

4. The aim of the study of social conditions in India should be not merely to understand all the ramifications of the caste system but to evolve conditions under which the evils of that system may gradually disappear and to make available to all the people opportunities for happiness, growth and peaceful life.

5. The Caste System in India is a unique social phenomenon and is an institution of highly complex origin. No institution has been found anywhere comparable to the complex and rigid caste system of India. It is true that social and racial differences in some form or other do prevail in other parts of the world, but it is the peculiarity of India that it recognised the social differences inherent in human nature and gave them an institutional and mystic form with a religious and spiritual background.

6. The word 'Caste' comes from the Portuguese word 'Casta'. It is difficult to define caste on account of its varied and complex character. Each caste is a social unit in itself. The customs by which it lives are generally different in some respects from those of other castes and are sometimes in marked contrast to those of any other caste. Persons of one caste do not marry those of another, and the extent to which persons of one caste eat or drink with others is also

limited. Even a change of religion often does not destroy caste. For instance converts to Islam and Christianity sometimes carry caste practices with them, though their religions do not recognise any such distinction.

Early History

7. The historians are led to believe that the Dravidians were the original inhabitants of India. They had a long background of civilisation behind them. There were also the primitive tribes, nomads, and forest dwellers. The coming of the Aryans into India raised new problems, racial and political. Conflict inevitably took place between these races and out of it gradually arose the caste system, which in the course of centuries has affected Indian life profoundly. In the early times there was a long drawn-out struggle of the Aryans amongst themselves, and with the Dravidians, Nagas, Dasyus and other races, who were living in India at that time. Subsequently, the Scythians, the Huns, the Greeks, the Persians, the Pathans, the Mughals and finally the Europeans came to India. Except the Europeans, all these groups became domiciled in India. The composition of the present Indian people is thus the result of the coming together of these elements and exhibits a mixture of numerous races, indigenous as well as immigrant through a process of ethnic combination.

8. The isolated geographical position of India, its climate, forests, vast deserts and river systems have also exercised a great influence on the life and character of the Indian people and their social organisation.

9. The political history of India throughout the ages has also had its share in the moulding of Indian people and the evolution of the social system. A long series of political upheavals naturally had their effects on the economic, social and cultural life of the people.

10. India has also felt the impact of various neighbouring cultures. Further, the numerous linguistic groups have till recently to a very great extent retained their own individuality.

11. In this vast country the Indian social system has proved capable of absorbing many extraneous elements and it is significant that no intruders have yet succeeded in changing it substantially. It is equally significant that the caste system produced comparative stability and gave this multiple society its present form.

Origin of Caste System

12. It is not possible to trace the origin of the caste system with any definiteness. It may have been a pre-Aryan institution—a development of prehistoric clan life. When the Aryans came to India, they may have found caste a very convenient institution for the adjustment of race relations. They may have utilised the principle of caste and thereafter divided the Aryan community into three functional groups called 'Varnas'. In the Rig Veda—the earliest literature available—the first three 'Varnas', viz. Brahmana, Kshatriya, and Vaishya are very frequently mentioned. It is only in Purush Suktha that a reference has been made to the four-fold division of society viz. Brahmana, Rajanya, Vaishya and Shudra—who are said to have sprung from the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet of the Creator. The particular limbs associated with each division and the

order in which they are mentioned probably indicated their status in society at that time. But this portion of Purusha Suktha is stated to be a later addition.

13. It is just possible that the Aryans divided themselves into three 'Varnas' during the period associated with the name of Shri Ramachandra and that Shri Krishna Chandra might have been the first person to develop the three varnas into 'Chatur Varna'. If this is true, the statement in the 'Gita', 'Chatur Varnayam Maya Srishtam' (The four-fold order of society was created by me) may have a personal bearing. It may be that Shri Krishna of the Upanishadic age, the disciple of Ghor Angiras, incorporated the Shudra and enlarged the 'Trivarnic' society into 'Chatur Varna'.

14. The functional division gave rise to various varnas which crystallised themselves into four main groups. Those who were outside this four-fold organisation were called 'Panchamas' and were allowed to live on the fringe of society as untouchables. There were still others who preferred to remain independent. They retired into inaccessible areas and did not accept the Aryan pattern of life. They were called "Vanavasis or Vanaukas".

15. Another theory is that in ancient times, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas in the North co-operated with each other, treating the vast masses of Vaishyas and Shudras as inferior. The Brahmans and Kshatriyas who were then agriculturists, could not, however, form a self-sufficient social unit. The Vaishyas gradually picked up wealth and a fair amount of culture and joined the higher ranks. Thus the Trivarnic civilization formed the upper strata of society, leaving the Shudra as mere masses. Those Shudras who would not give up practices repugnant to Aryan ideals were condemned as untouchables and were forced to live on the fringe of society. They were beyond the pale of four-fold orthodoxy. Others who were unwilling to fall in line with the Trivarnic ideals, retired to the hills and led a precarious but independent life. They are the present Scheduled Tribes or Girijans.

16. The general class of Shudras consisted of domestic and menial servants. Besides them, other occupational classes like blacksmiths, leather workers, barbers, physicians, goldsmiths, merchants and chariot builders also find a mention in the ancient scriptures. Four other castes viz. Ayogava, Chandala, Nishada and Pulkasa are mentioned in the Vedic literature.

17. The four-fold division of society was not particularly well knit. When cultural forces were strong the functional ideas of 'Varna' prevailed, and when cultural forces weakened the clannish or tribal idea of caste dominated. The cohesion of caste gradually became more powerful than the cohesion of Varna, and yet, the passion to improve the moral standard of life remained powerful throughout history. The best known instance is that of Vishwamitra of the Puranic Age who was not content to be called a Rishi among the Kshatriyas. He aspired for the title of Brahmarshi.

18. The division of society in those days was not merely functional; it was also a division by standards of cultural and spiritual excellence. The four 'Varnas' together had a common accepted

standard for individuals based on efforts of man to reach Godhood, by overcoming all the weaknesses of the flesh and the anti-social emotions. All round purity thus became the common aim of all the 'Varnas'. The Brahmans aspired to maintain purity of birth, purity of body through daily baths, purity of mind through self-abnegation, purity of food and drink and purity of livelihood. Purity of food and purity of means of livelihood were the common standard for all. Persons belonging to lower groups could claim and enter the higher strata of society by purifying themselves and their ideals of life. The social prestige and privileges of the higher castes were sufficient attraction for the people in the lower groups to attempt to rise. Orthodoxy, instinctively non-progressive and security-loving, always opposed any attempts at upgrading. Society had, therefore, to establish an agency for deciding the status and grade of social and cultural groups. Religion was the ultimate source of power and the religious head, therefore, decided the social status of the various groups. The Brahman, who belonged to the priestly caste, thus became the spiritual head of society. The King was its executive head.

19. In the beginning, the caste system was an arrangement for the peaceful co-existence of various clans, tribes, or social units. It was conceived under an urge for social solidarity and mutual responsibility. Caste was an association of families for living together and for forming a complete social unit. These families could marry amongst themselves according to certain rules; and the securing of food being the main occupation of every group, inter-dining was also confined within the caste. Caste, in the beginning, had no specific restrictions as regards occupation. That element was introduced later as a result of the influence of the idea of 'Varna'.

20. The four varnas together formed one society, each Varna representing a particular social function, that was felt to be essential for human existence. On the other hand, the caste was a separate, independent and self-sufficient community. Caste meant blood-relationship, whereas 'Varna' was indicative of a particular vocation and also of a particular standard of living. Many castes and blood-groups could come together under one 'Varna', and become a large cultural unit. The four-fold functions of 'Varna' were later subdivided into various occupations which, in course of time, became crystallised into castes. The priest and the learned, the warrior and the administrator, the farmer, the trader and the money-lender, the weaver, artisan, and the menial servant—each one formed a separate caste. Under the scheme of sub-division, priests, teachers, preachers and astrologers were brought under the 'Varna' of Brahmans. The soldier, the ruler and the administrator became Kshatriyas. As mere administrators and accountants could not maintain the high standard of Kshatriyahood, the Kayasthas were sometimes relegated to the category of Shudras. The landholder, the cattle-keeper, the trader and the money-lender were the Vaishyas. The menials were the Shudras. Later on the Vaishyas could not keep up the ceremonial standards assigned to them and, therefore, they also were put in the class of Shudras.

21. The caste system had a hierarchy based on the standard of purity of culture. The Brahman who observed the principles of purity and learnt the Sacred Text by heart was regarded as the highest. He

was responsible for the cultural education and spiritual traditions of society as a whole. The power and prestige of the priestly castes grew as the importance of sacrifices and rituals developed in later Ages. The pre-eminence of the Brahman had secured him many social privileges.

22. The Kshatriya was responsible for the protection of society against internal disorder or external invasion. He had also to uphold the 'Varnashrama Dharma'. The Vaishya, in his turn, was the trader and he had to bear in mind that all wealth was really a trust for the service of all.

23. The Shudra Class was expected to serve the three upper classes with contentment and humility. Many disabilities were placed on this class. The present backwardness among the various castes and communities of the Shudra class partly arises out of these restrictions.

24. The position of the fifth class viz. the untouchables, was indeed galling. They suffered from many humiliations and were condemned to a life of degradation.

25. The excessive ritualism practised by the Brahmans and the extreme importance attached to the outer forms of observances had their reactions in course of time. Both Jainism and Buddhism were Reform Movements started by Kshatriyas preaching against rituals and sacrifices and emphasising the performance of duty and the observance of right conduct. Buddhism spread over the whole of Northern India and a part of Southern India. The old ritualism of sacrifices was discarded and popular forms of worship were introduced. Hinduism gradually absorbed all that was good in Buddhism. Buddhism, in course of time, lost its pristine vigour and developed degrading practices. Shankaracharya opposed the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism and re-established Hinduism in the hearts of the people. His doctrine of Advaita was so akin to Buddhistic metaphysics, that he was accused of being a Buddhist in disguise. Hinduism finally accepted Buddha as an Avtar of Vishnu and recognised the present age as being under his sway.

26. The post-Vedic period saw the gradual stratification of the caste-system. The rules and regulations governing the social life and individual conduct of the four orders were elaborated to embrace all aspects of life. In the matter of taxation, as also of punishment, according to law there was inequality on the basis of caste. The ideas of ceremonial purity, taboos on food and drink and the theory of pollution by the touch or even the near approach of certain castes—all find expression in the Law texts of this period. Marriage within one's own caste was an ideal, yet certain marriages outside the caste were recognised as lawful. The first three 'varnas' could marry from castes lower than their own, but the Pratiloma marriages were looked down upon. However, there were instances of irregular marriages. The great Epics contain many examples of inter-caste marriages. The various gradations of caste came to be regarded as a natural result of ideas regarding ceremonial purity and pollution. The doctrines of Karma and Re-birth were employed as sanctions for the observance of social laws. The King or Chief was supposed to maintain Dharma which the priest laid down. The Laws of Manu enjoy a great prestige in India even today and are regarded as authoritative on the matter of caste.

Manu deals with the duties of the four orders and their Dharma. The masses obeyed the injunctions of Dharma to avoid the terrors of future life. The theory of Karma was evolved to keep people on the path of duty. *Prayaschitta* or penance was intended to expiate impurity and to guard against retribution resulting from disapproved conduct. Manu gives a list of *Jatis*, many of whom have changed in name and some of them have ceased to exist. He distinguishes the following categories:—

1. Four original Varnas.
2. Castes which were supposed to be produced by mixture with pure and mixed castes.
3. Castes which have lost their status on account of neglect of sacred rites.
4. Castes due to the exclusion of persons from the community.
5. Slaves and their descendants.
6. People excluded from the community of four Varnas as well as their descendants.

He has given a long list of mixed castes. They are thirty in number and resolve themselves into three types:—

- (i) Caste produced from two different pure castes.
- (ii) Those produced by the mixture of pure castes on one side and mixed on the other.
- (iii) Those produced from parents of mixed origin on both sides.

27. The writers of the Dharma Shastras codified the existing social practices so as to maintain order in society and that accounts for the detailed regulation of conduct of the several castes. But it is plain from the statements of Manu that new castes were continually being created both by *pratiloma* and *anuloma* marriages or by mixed or irregular unions or by ex-communication of persons from their castes for breach or non-observance of caste rules. There was not the same rigidity then which we find in later years. If this process had continued in the succeeding ages the caste system might have destroyed itself, firstly, by the endless multiplication of castes and secondly, by frequent inter-marriages amongst them.

The history of the succeeding centuries shows how the social structure grew inelastic and the people ceased to have an expansive outlook.

28. The advent of the Afghans and the Moghuls had a considerable effect on the Hindu social system. They made India their homeland and in spite of political conflicts contracted marriage alliances with the Hindus. The immediate reaction, however, of the Afghan and Moghul conquest was the exodus of some people to the South. Those who remained behind became more exclusive and tried to protect themselves from foreign influences by early marriages and hardening of the caste system. However, cultural synthesis had its way and changes in architecture, food and clothing were inevitable. This has given us the composite culture which exists in India today.

29. During the centuries preceding the advent of the British, new ferment set in and new ideas were taking shape in people's minds. Out of this ferment arose new types of reformers, who deliberately

preached against the importance of caste. The religious upheaval in Maharashtra was heralded by a number of Brahman and Shudra Saints of outstanding ability, who worked for the emancipation of the lower castes. They are Dnyaneshwar and Eknath; Namdev and Tukaram. The Hindu Saint Ramanand and his Muslim disciple Kabir, Ramai in Bengal and Guru Nanak in the Punjab worked for the uplift of the masses.

30. The advent of Islam and Christianity into India also brought about some change in the outlook of Hindu society. A large number of people belonging to lower castes, and in particular from among the untouchables, became converted to these religions to escape the rigour and humiliation of the Hindu caste system. It is sad to note, however, that even these converts could not easily shake off their old caste disabilities. Caste clung to them and even now there are clearly discernible caste influences among Muslims and Christians.

Some Features of Caste

31. Caste may be defined as an association of families who can marry amongst themselves; caste rules forbid members to marry outside their caste. Caste may divide itself into sub-groups who sometimes inter-marry and sometimes do not. Hindu society is thus a body politic made up of a large array of castes with a recognised hierarchy. Each caste boasts of a peculiar tradition of culture and tries to preserve it tenaciously. Inter-marriages, therefore, even where permitted, are looked down upon.

The upper castes are sub-divided into Gotras, but unlike caste, the law of Gotras demands that people may not marry in the same Gotra. During census operations, at one period, they actually counted nearly 3,000 castes. Brahmans alone could boast of as many as 800 castes and sub-castes.

The taboo against inter-marriage is extended to inter-dining. Caste, therefore, is unsocial so far as wider intercourse is concerned. It creates caste-patriotism and prevents national solidarity. Hinduism, which was originally based on the principle of unity in diversity, encouraged only diversity, and unity remained in name only.

32. Caste in India is based on a variety of factors, some of them often mutually antagonistic. While in some cases caste may be a clan, a tribe or a racial unit, in others it may have been formed on the basis of regionalism. Another factor that influenced caste was occupation. But the most important element was that of culture. While the Brahman, the Kshatriya and the Vaishya were expected to live up to a particular standard of culture, the Shudra had no such binding rules of conduct.

33. It is significant that whatever may be the defects of caste it had nothing to do with wealth or power. The status of a person depended not on his wealth but on the traditional importance of his caste. There was thus social equality among all the members of a caste in spite of extreme disparity in the status of individuals.

34. The dominant character of the Indian social system, whether ancient, mediaeval or modern, was the great significance attached to ideas of ceremonial purity and pollution. Purity expressed itself in

various ways. First and foremost was the purity of race or birth. This kept the people from mixing their blood with those of inferior status or culture. 'Bija Shuddi' or the purity of seed was prized as the highest possession of a race. People took special pains to remember their pedigree and even robber chiefs took pride in tracing their origin to great *rishis* or Kings of old. This sense of purity discountenanced widow re-marriage and gradually engendered a sense of social superiority. Inter-marriage and inter-dining became taboo as Indians of the higher castes were not willing to receive food from the hands of inferior people or to mix blood with them. Even acceptance of water at the hands of the lower castes was not countenanced. This practice, however, was not observed rigidly in the North. Necessary purification ceremonies were prescribed for the reclamation of those who fell from these standards. The extension of the principle of taboo on food and drink even embraced the eating of onions and garlic. The extension of the same principle rendered certain communities untouchables. This untouchability was often carried to such an extreme degree in the South that certain lower castes were not only not allowed to touch the higher castes but were prohibited from approaching them within certain distances. There was also the superiority and inferiority of certain customs. Those who did not marry maternal cousins were regarded as superior. The idea of purity entered the various professions also. Even the food grown on land with the help of bullocks was regarded as inferior. The food which the sages took was called 'Mantryannam' and it was grown with the use of pick-axe only. The profession of the farmer came to be regarded as inferior as it was associated with the killing of insects and microbes in the land he tilled. So also the professions of the fowler, the hunter and the butcher were considered low.

35. These diversities led to differences in the moral and cultural standards of various groups, and a gulf began to grow between the various castes. A variety of customs and practices at the time of birth, marriage and death came to be formed. These customs and practices had varying degrees of rigidity in several parts of the country. While in the North pucca food and water could be accepted from certain Shudra castes, orthodoxy was more rigid in the South.

36. Caste practices took on a more rigid garb resulting in the segregation of some castes in the villages. Thus it is seen that certain areas in villages are definitely marked out for them. These practices became so widespread and rigid that certain social disabilities were imposed on the lower castes. They were not allowed to ride a horse or to take out a marriage procession in the streets in which the higher castes had their dwellings. Even in the choice of occupations there was a great deal of restriction. People have become so accustomed to these practices that some castes do not generally allow their members to take to any calling or occupation which was considered degrading or impure. The upper castes treated occupational manual labour with contempt and the castes thus engaged in manual labour for a living were treated as inferior. There is a perceptible change in the caste practices in urban areas; caste rigidity is seen in all its aspects in the villages.

37. The religious caste complex has become so deep-rooted that it is not easy for any caste-group to get away from its strong grip. Even the most intellectual including those who declared themselves

to be the enemies of caste, are not often entirely free, and consciously or unconsciously they act in a manner which gives a fresh lease of life to the caste system. Both by the force of inherited habit and the training imparted to an individual he feels a deep loyalty to the caste-group. That loyalty is so deep that he is generally unable to shake it off even when he is intellectually convinced that it is baneful. The social differences of caste have become so firm in the mind of the Hindu that he regards them as natural. The two important elements in the Hindu caste system are endogamy and hierarchy. The desire to keep themselves pure is responsible for the rigid observance of endogamy. The feeling of superiority or inferiority has resulted in caste hierarchy.

38. The old Aryan experiment on the four-fold division of society into 'Varna' was basically not conducive to a full development of human personality. The education of each 'Varna' developed a truncated personality. A totalitarian structure of the 'Varna Vyavastha' could only so long as it was artificially supported by a strong Central Government. The structure naturally collapsed when the outside props gave way.

39. The extent of prejudices in the fabric of caste society which we have to overcome is by no means a negligible factor. The social distance between a man of one caste and of another caste is not easy to obliterate. A tremendous effort is necessary to effect any change in a society so complex and so organised.

40. The attitude of social leaders ever since mediaeval times has been one of callousness. Even law-givers like Manu gave support to an unsocial attitude towards fellow human-beings. He laid down that the Shudra should not be allowed to study the scriptures, nor should he have a spotlessly clean dress nor ride a conveyance in the presence of men of the upper classes. He must bow low if he finds a man of upper caste passing by.

41. There was a systematic suppression behind the rules and codes of social conduct. The leaders of society thought that the upper classes could be safe only by maintaining the ignorance and poverty of the masses. The latter were told that the social arrangement was ordained by God. The theory of 'Karma and Re-birth' was misused to sustain such an arrangement. The masses were told that they would be punished in the other world for any violation of the social laws and that they would be rewarded by way of better status in the next life if they remained humble, docile and serviceable. Such were the ideas of justice and retribution that were laid down to support the social injustice of the minority towards the ignorant majority. Constant preaching for generations produced a mentality which perpetuated itself through ignorance and inertia. Even the King in the olden days could not ignore the social laws thus prescribed: his duty was merely to uphold the recognized social order. These ideas have sunk so deep into the social fabric that even today people in villages feel that the social order inherited from their forefathers is the best arrangement; that it had the sanction of religion and morality and, therefore, of God. The poor and ignorant people think that it is a social virtue to

submit to all restrictions, privations, and humiliations enjoined by the old social order. A good many of the upper classes honestly feel that there is nothing objectionable in keeping the untouchables down or in treating the Other Backward Classes with contempt. The pervasive influence is such that even the reforms introduced by Government are accepted by the orthodox in a spirit of helplessness and with a feeling that it is the effect of 'Kaliyuga' or 'Iron-age'. The result is that while there is abject obedience and conformity to reform, it is effected without any corresponding change in the social outlook of the people.

42. Strangely enough, attempts made by social and religious reformers in the past, have sometimes ended not in obliterating caste but in creating a new one of their followers. Reforms are thus segregated and not allowed to spread. We find this phenomenon going on in India from time immemorial. The whole idea was conceived because of insufficient recognition and respect for the human personality. The idea has become so deep-rooted in the psychology of Hindu society that one finds greater rigidity of caste practices among the lower castes. It is against such a background that steps to remove the backwardness of a vast number of people must be considered.

Effects of British Rule on Hindu Social System

43. In the process of evolution the Hindu social system lost much of its flexibility. It lost also much of its former vitality. It became more rigid and less dynamic. By the time the Britishers had consolidated their position in India, the Hindu social system had accumulated many undesirable features. Foreign invasions also rendered it more conservative. The Britishers made the elastic Hindu Law inelastic and non-progressive through their law courts.

44. The old village economy which had given so much strength to social order gradually became disrupted under British Rule. The system had withstood the onslaught of foreign invasions, the ravages of internal wars and dynastic conflicts. Though villages might change hands according to the fortunes of a battle, the internal economy of the village never suffered. The prosperity of the cultivator, the weaver, the carpenter, the barber, the washerman and others depended on their pursuing their daily avocations unhampered by the fortunes of political conflicts. This was so till almost the beginning of the nineteenth century. British administrators have spoken eloquently of the Indian Village Republics of those times.

45. British policy in India was designed mainly for the maintenance of Law and Order, for the collection of taxes, and for keeping an unrestricted market for British goods. Their centralised administration completely disrupted the old economy of the country. The land policy created a new class of landlords and drove millions into the ranks of tenants and agricultural labourers. Unrestricted competition of imported goods, caused the collapse of the local cottage and rural industries, and the artisan and occupational classes were rendered idle and swelled the ranks of agricultural labourers. Failure to develop agriculture gradually resulted in further impoverishment of rural population. With poverty, both ignorance and illiteracy flourished.

46. The educational policy, mainly designed for the training of a few people for the subordinate ranks of the administration, created a new middle-class consisting mainly of the upper castes. English education created a gulf between the classes and the masses. The growth of towns and the establishment of industries in urban areas robbed rural life of what talent and leadership it had. The establishment of civil and criminal courts robbed the caste system and the caste panchayats of what authority they had once had over the members of particular castes. The prestige of caste leaders gradually diminished. The policy of 'divide and rule', the introduction of separate electorates, and special recognition accorded to non-Braman classes in the South all contributed to the disruption of whatever solidarity India once possessed. The rulers deliberately fostered distrust among the people. It was at this juncture that Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanada Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Justice Ranade, Lala Lajpat Rai and others rose to arouse society against its changed circumstances.

47. With the growing consciousness that India was being impoverished and the interests of Indians were being ignored, the leaders of the country thought of political organizations to improve the conditions of the people. It was then that the Indian National Congress had its birth, and it has worked ever since for the advancement of the people. The Congress programme, however, became truly dynamic only when Gandhiji took over its leadership. It was he who saw the need for social solidarity in striving for political freedom. He focussed the attention of the public on the degrading effects of untouchability, the inequity of social segregation and the injustice of social inequalities. He realised that the poverty of the Indian people was due to the disruption of the old village economy and the decay of rural industries and village handicrafts. He worked ceaselessly for the removal of untouchability, for Hindu-Muslim unity, and for the revival of Khadi and other village industries. Realizing the defects of the present system of education, he evolved a scheme of basic education more suited to conditions in India. He also worked for the propagation of Hindi to eventually replace English. Thus he created a unifying influence and offered platforms on which all could unite irrespective of caste, creed, colour or faith. His Poona Pact saved millions of untouchables from breaking away from the Hindu fold. He did all this without creating any social conflicts. The process of social reforms which he initiated began to have the salutary effect of cleansing the Hindu social order of some of its undesirable features. Some of the high caste people, not only mixed freely with the lower castes, but worked for their uplift.

48. The most marked feature of the British administration is the crowding of all upper castes into Government and other allied services. The communities that were traditionally engaged in trade and commerce were driven to careers as commission agents and servants for British trade. These communities also became wealthy and dominant. Those left behind were the small peasant, the artisan, the agricultural labourer and the untouchable. They remained poor, ignorant and illiterate, and hence lacked the ability to march forward. They stuck with tenacity to their old ideas of caste with its denationalising features.

49. With the growth of more modern conditions some of the rigidity of caste gradually began to wear out. The introduction of railways, the establishment of hotels and eating houses have further contributed to the relaxation of caste prejudices. Society, no doubt, is imperceptibly changing with time. Yet while caste itself is fast disintegrating, the blind belief in caste and loyalty to one's own caste is maintained today by sheer instinct and selfishness. The functions of the four 'Varnas' have long been forgotten. The ideals of the various castes are no longer being maintained. Even as a biological principle, caste has ceased to be useful.

50. One of the evil effects of the caste system has been that general education was denied to a large section of the people. Knowledge of the hereditary occupation or craft was all the education which a child got through its parents. The upper castes have one common characteristic viz., they dislike physical labour and try to evade it as much as possible. The system of education introduced by the British suited these classes excellently and has helped them to secure a dominant share in administrative and industrial spheres.

51. Jawaharlalji has powerfully summarised the whole situation thus:--

"In our own period have arisen numerous movements to break the tyranny of caste among the middle classes and they have made a difference, but not a vital one, so far as the masses are concerned. Their method was usually one of direct attack. Then Gandhi came and tackled the problem after the immemorial Indian fashion, in an indirect way. He has been direct enough, aggressive enough, persistent enough, but without challenging the original basic functional theory underlying the four main castes. He has already shaken the foundations of caste and the masses have been powerfully affected. But an even greater power than Gandhi is at work; the conditions of modern life—and it seems that at last this hoary and tenacious relic of past times must die."

"The conception and practice of caste embodied the aristocratic ideal and was obviously opposed to democratic conceptions. It had its strong sense of *noblesse oblige*, provided people kept their hereditary stations and did not challenge the established order. India's success and achievements were on the whole confined to the upper classes, those lower down in the scale had very few chances and their opportunities were strictly limited. These upper classes were not small limited groups but large in numbers and there was also a diffusion of power, authority and influence. Hence they carried on successfully for a very long period. But the ultimate weakness and failing of the caste system and the Indian social structure were such that they degraded a mass of human beings and gave them no opportunities to get out of that condition educationally, culturally, or economically. That degradation brought deterioration, all along the line including in its scope even the upper classes. It led to the petrification which became a dominant feature of India's economy and life. The contrasts between this social structure

and those existing elsewhere in the past were not great, but with the changes that have taken place all over the world during the past few generations they have become far more pronounced. In the context of society today, the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary, restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework, nor can there be political democracy and much less economic democracy. Between these two conceptions conflict is inherent and only one of them can survive".*

* Discovery of India by Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, Chapter VI, Page 234 (3rd Edition).



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL GROUPS

Muslims

There were representatives on behalf of some Muslims organizations asking that all Muslims should be treated as backward and be given educational aid and adequate representation in Government service. It would not be fair or just to list all Muslims as socially and educationally backward. Officially Muslims do not recognize any caste. It must be said to the credit of Islam that it did not compromise its position in the matter of untouchables. All Muslims, drawn from any stock or community, were regarded as equal both in the mosque and at dinner parties. They did not recognize social distinctions as is done in the case of caste groups in Hindu society. Gradually, however, Islamic society in India succumbed to the influence of caste and lost its pristine purity. The racial distinction of Mughal and Pathan, Sheikh and Syed has been maintained though without any sense of social inferiority. There are certain professions, however, that are regarded as inferior even by the Muslims. The sense of high and low has gradually permeated Muslim society and today there are a number of communities amongst them that are suffering from social inferiority and consequent educational backwardness. We have recognized this deterioration that has overcome Muslim society today and added the names of such backward communities found among them in the list of Other Backward Classes.

2. Various State Governments have mentioned these communities under separate heads of Hindus and Muslims. It may perhaps be necessary in certain parts of the country to maintain this distinction. The Commission has not thought it necessary to make any such distinction on the basis of religion in determining the backwardness of any community.

Christians

3. The appointment of the Backward Classes Commission created some uneasiness in the minds of the leaders of Indian Christians. This is, perhaps, due to a feeling of apprehension that they might be denied the privileges, concessions or facilities given to the Other Backward Classes. Representatives of the Christian community met the Commission and pleaded for recognition of backwardness among them and for Government help on the same footing as Other Backward Classes. They argued that converts to Christianity, particularly from amongst the Scheduled Castes, still carry their old stigma in the Christian fold and are subject to social disabilities.

4. The Governments of Madras and Andhra recognize only the first generation of converts for the purpose of educational concessions. The Government of India in the Ministry of Education on the other hand have recognized converts from the Scheduled Castes into Christianity as Other Backward Classes.

5. Christianity has consistently refused to recognize caste. Taboos on inter-marriage, inter-dining and widow marriages are systematically opposed in Christian Society. There is no segregation of communities as such amongst them. And yet in practice we found that segregation of converts from Scheduled Castes was not successfully overcome in certain parts of South India. We were informed that this segregation has spread even beyond the secular side of life and sometimes Harijan converts were not allowed to pray together with the upper class Christians. We were also told that in some places in the South these classes are forced to have a separate cemetery for their dead. We could not refuse to recognize this unchristian state of affairs and have recommended that such communities, especially in the South, should be recognized as backward and given all concessions and facilities available to the Other Backward Classes.

6. We may add that if Scheduled Castes converted to Christianity in other parts of the country also suffer from any recognizable segregation and social disabilities, their case should also be considered and they should be put in the list of Other Backward Classes.

7. It is sad that Islam and Christianity in India must admit that they have failed in their mission of socially uplifting the backward classes, and that there are sections in their midst that still labour under certain social handicaps. But it would be doing a disservice both to Islam and Christianity if we encourage backward individuals following these two faiths to exaggerate their social hardships and claim that they form a distinct social community. This would amount to subsidising certain sections to develop fissiparous tendencies and thus increase the very social disease which we are determined to fight.

8. Who will deny that there is a large number of extremely poor and handicapped families even amongst the handful of advanced communities amongst the Hindus that we have excluded from the special governmental help which it is proposed to extend to backward communities? These are also citizens of India, and they also need State help. It would not be right to visit the sins of the fathers on the children; and yet it is not the purpose of this Commission to plead for assistance and help to all deserving individuals and families. The State will have to devise ways and means of extending help to all such individuals who are suffering from backwardness. All backwardness, wherever found, is a menace to the State, especially to the democratic State and backwardness even amongst the advanced classes will have to be liquidated. No State would be safe if any backwardness were allowed to go unheeded. The moral repercussions of such neglect would be extremely dangerous.

9. The State should devise ways and means of helping the backward amongst the advanced communities of Christians and Muslims, without forcing them to prove that caste is recognized and casteism is on the increase in their own fold. State help based on communal considerations is never without its dangers. We have accepted it as a necessity in counteracting an age-old evil. We recommend with all the emphasis that we can command, that help on communal basis should not be a permanent feature. Let help be given in ample measure for a limited time, after which these crutches must be withdrawn. Otherwise, to liquidate backwardness, we shall have encouraged dependence

and parasitism—most dangerous fissiparous tendencies—in our anxiety to fight social injustice.

Anglo-Indians

10. The problem of Anglo-Indians do not come strictly within the purview of our enquiry. Yet certain representations were made on their behalf by Associations with which we are obliged to deal.

11. The total population of Anglo-Indians is stated to be about 1,11,637. They are largely concentrated in the big cities of West Bengal, Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Hyderabad and Madhya Pradesh. Their population in other States is negligible. The Constitution of India has guaranteed certain concessions to this community for a fixed period, but in our opinion this community cannot be classed as backward either educationally or socially for the purpose either of additional or separate help.

12. The difficulties under which they labour are more psychological than real. They find it difficult on account of their language and habits to be easily assimilated into general Indian society. We believe this is to be a passing phase. Fortunately, a good majority of them are feeling at one with India and with the passage of time and with goodwill on both sides their problems will probably disappear.

Eurasians in Travancore-Cochin

13. There is a small community in the extreme south (Travancore-Cochin) which is really Eurasian in character, being the progeny of alliances between Portuguese or Dutch fathers and Indian mothers. But because the old term 'Eurasian' was looked upon with disfavour, this community has been mistakenly classed with Anglo-Indians. We find this community in the list of Other Backward Classes of Travancore-Cochin State maintained by the Education Ministry, Government of India.

14. The Eurasians have practically accepted Malayalam as their language. They could not secure special privileges during the British rule as the Anglo-Indians did. They are, therefore, extremely backward today. Some of them have taken to English education and have improved their lot. But a large majority of them is still poor and illiterate. Socially they were not privileged like the Anglo-Indians. Their great handicap is lack of education. Financially they are not well off. We have recommended, therefore, that these Eurasians of Travancore-Cochin should be put in the list of Other Backward Classes.

Sikhs

15. The following note appeared in our questionnaire:—

“for purposes of this questionnaire the word 'Hindu' includes Sikhs, Jains, etc.”

No Sikh representative objected to this view and in fact some expressed their satisfaction with the wording of the note.

16. It is our view that the Sikhs constitute an integral part of the Broader Hindu religion. Racially, culturally and traditionally, Sikhs are an integral part of the Hindu fold like Arya Samajists, Brahmo Samajists, the Indian Buddhists and Jains. Although in theory the

Sikhs do not subscribe to caste system, in actual practice they cling to many of the Hindu traditions and practices including that of untouchability. There are cases where Sikhs are found to marry with non-Sikhs of the same caste. We recommend, therefore, that those communities or groups who are treated as untouchables among the Sikhs, should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes.

17. If we were to treat the Sikhs as distinct and separate from the Hindus, we would have recommended the exclusion of the four castes viz. Mazhabi, Ramdasi, Kabirpanthi and Sikligar, included in the President's Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950. That would have been a logical position because strictly speaking, untouchability being peculiar feature of Hinduism only, no community belonging to any other separate religion could legitimately claim the concessions reserved for the untouchables of the Hindu community. The inclusion of these four Sikh castes, represented at the time a political compromise due to exigencies created by alien rule. In a Free India makeshift solutions should no longer be there.

18. As regards the list of Other Backward Classes, we do not make any distinction on grounds of religions. Any distinct community that is found to be socially and educationally backward has been listed under the category of Other Backward Classes, irrespective of the religion professed by individuals belonging to those communities.

Gurkhas

19. The Gurkhas originally belonged to the independent State of Nepal. Socially and culturally they are an integral part of the Hindu community and, therefore, they do not find it difficult to settle in any part of India. The Gurkhas being a cross section of the great Hindu community are divided into many castes and sub-castes. Just as we cannot call Hindus as a whole a backward community, so also Gurkhas as such cannot be called a backward community. But some communities among them are found to be really backward.

20. Therefore we recommend that in parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal where there are large numbers of Gurkhas, only such communities (of Gurkhas) as are listed as backward should receive the same help as Other Backward Classes. In the rest of India the Gurkhas are known to ignore their castes and become one homogenous community. The condition of some of them is not satisfactory. They should, therefore, be treated as one community in such areas and listed along with Other Backward Classes, if they are found to be socially and educationally backward.

Bhangis (Sweepers and Scavengers)

21. The alert community of Harijans has compelled us to look into their condition although technically the problem is not within our terms of reference. We visited Harijan quarters and studied their situation. The term "Sub-human" can alone appropriately describe their condition. Bhangis cleanse our latrines and help maintain some measure of health and sanitation. Without Bhangis, the whole population would have to face the ravages of epidemics. And yet these very Bhangis are forced to live in the filthiest of surroundings, and in some places they are even asked to carry night-soil on their heads. The receptacles for night-soil should not leak. Any society that

expects one section of humanity to perform such humiliating and degrading service should be ashamed of itself. Municipalities are the greatest sinners in this respect. The plea that they do not have enough funds to improve the quarters of the Bhangis is hollow. If the city fathers had the same feelings for these unfortunates as they seem to have for their clerks and chaprasis, they would have managed to find resources to house the Bhangis in decent quarters. Mahatmaji had to threaten a fast in order to secure permission for one of his Brahman colleagues of the Ashram to clean the latrines of a British Jail. Let all city fathers who love to call Mahatma Gandhi "father of the Nation", do something concrete in his manner to remove this blot from our civilization. The Bhangis should not be condemned to live in segregated localities. They should be distributed and given quarters among other groups.

Women

22. The position of women in India is peculiar. We have always felt that they have lived under great social handicaps and must, therefore, as a class be regarded as backward. But since they do not form a separate community it has not been possible for us to list them among the backward classes. Though their position in upper and middle-class society is a little better, they are as a class economically dependent on the male members of the family. The condition of women among backward classes is worse still. In view of the important role women could play in the regeneration of society, we are reluctant to leave their problems unnoticed.

23. In ancient India women held very high places in society. Indian history is replete with instances of women reaching great heights not only in the field of literature and public administration, but also in the field of battle. Many women warriors are still remembered with pride and gratitude by the Indian people. Their role in the struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership was heroic. Gandhiji wrote and worked for their emancipation from social tyranny. Free India has recognized the equal political status of women, and some women are now occupying positions of power and authority in the Ministries, Legislatures, Diplomatic service and in other fields of activity. Nevertheless, the majority of women is still backward.

24. Our public life is dominated by the advanced communities. The result is that whenever we talk of the advancement of women, it is the women of these classes that are foremost in our mind. The women-folk of the teeming millions of the labour class and of the artisans and occupational classes are rarely thought of. There is, today, a great need of uplift measures for these women.

25. With the spread of education and the consequent change in social outlook, the position of women in the middle-classes is improving, and politically she is the equal of man. But the position of women in the backward classes is anomalous. In one sense she is the equal of man, because she works with him, looks after the family, does the marketing and manages the household. But so far as traditional social status is concerned, she is not treated any better than a chattel. In some parts of the country, she is actually bought and sold. In some communities the practice of levirate (compulsory marriage of a widow with her husband's brother) is still found. With polygamy

prevalent amongst the backward classes, her position there is precarious. The practice of polyandry in one or two places in Northern India has rendered her social status there almost intolerable.

26. Women have been able to manage many institutions and in political controversies they have always taken a sober view of things. They should be encouraged to take an equal if not greater share with men in the management of national affairs. Educated women are best suited for teaching children in the early stages as they understand children better, and can mould their characters with love and sympathy. The problem of the women in the backward classes is intensified by the fact that they are ignorant, illiterate and often superstitious.

27. Girls among the backward classes should be given better facilities for education. They should be encouraged to live in special hostels for girls of all communities in order to give them a sense of equality and self-reliance. All the social reforms that we have suggested for the backward classes can be best initiated through women. Basic education should be given to all girls including those of the backward classes and they should be encouraged to take the benefit of panchakoshi village schools and to live in Samata Ashrams. They should be encouraged to earn a living both by skilled and unskilled labour. They should be taught to plan the family budget. They should be told something of the modern world and the new social pattern which is being evolved. They should understand the implications of the various political ideologies that are competing in the country. Inter-marriage between the advanced classes and the backward classes should be encouraged.

28. The Samata Ashrams for boys and girls must be permeated with an atmosphere of idealism and reverence for all that is good in our culture if we are ever to usher in a real social reform or a revolution to end the centuries-old social backwardness of these communities.

29. Women should be included in all the Village Councils, Educational Councils, Local Bodies and Legislatures of the country. They must be enabled and encouraged to fill higher posts in the political fields.

30. We recommend the following measures for the advancement of women:—

1. Free education in all stages to all girls whose parents' income is less than Rs. 3,000 per annum.
2. Scholarships for girls belonging to the backward classes.
3. Residential hostels for girl students, with priority for girls of the backward classes.
4. Samata Ashrams for girls to be run by trained staffs of women and men.
5. Creation of special facilities for girls to study Medicine, Home Sciences and other subjects specially suited for women.
6. More facilities for training women in the Fine Arts and in Social Service.

Unfortunate Women

31. The problems of these unfortunate women has been with us for many centuries. The mediaeval world accepted the institution of prostitution as an unavoidable evil and tried to give it social recognition. Temples throughout the world also gave an institutional recognition and a dubious sanctity to this evil.

32. The institution of prostitution is doubly cursed. It is a result of the helplessness and desperation of women. It is also the mother of every kind of inequity. It hardens a diseased psychology and often results from the failure of the institution of marriage. Social and economic causes, however, have contributed most to the flourishing of prostitution.

33. The saddest part is that those who are hardened into the profession are often unwilling to change. It is not that they are happy in the state in which they have to live; but too often they can find no alternative employment for which they are suited and, therefore, continue their degrading existence. These unfortunate women do not find any element in society to which they may turn for sympathetic help. What is generally presented to them as an alternative to prostitution is hard labour, and that under severe social ostracism. Experience over many generations, in different lands has proved that the policy of recognizing prostitution as a necessary evil and trying to regulate it in various ways, is a failure.

34. Many social organizations in various States are trying with Government or local aid to rescue these unfortunate women and to apply correctional methods for their rehabilitation in society. But the efforts so far made are not commensurate with the problem. Many State Governments have passed a "Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act" to eradicate this evil. The administration of this Act is often found to be more punitive than reformatory. It is found that the punished offenders drift back to their old profession in the absence of any properly organized Rescue Homes where they could find refuge.

35. Women social workers alone from well-to-do society can tackle this problem and can find a vast field for service in rescuing these unfortunate women and training them for a useful life. There is great scope for starting Rescue Homes and Government should be able to help such efforts with finance and legislation. Rescue Homes must not be merely asylums for such women. Even these Rescue Homes would be a source of danger unless they are managed by committees of socially responsible workers and controlled by governmental supervision. The ideal arrangement would be for Governments themselves to run Rescue Homes with the close co-operation of social leaders, especially women. In addition to providing food and shelter, such institutions should teach the women different occupations to enable them to earn a living and become useful members of society. They must be taught to change their outlook and to lead normal married lives. Men must be prepared to help in this rescue work by coming forward to marry unfortunate girls who were wrongly led into this profession. They will have to take the risks involved and be prepared even to have their homes broken. The instance of the great French sociologist, Auguste Compté should be an example in this regard.

36. It is said that in new China the problem of prostitution has been successfully tackled within two years. A large number of prostitutes who were helping to disfigure the social life of big cities in China were all taken to Rescue Homes and given intensive training in suitable occupations and in general education to wean them away from the degrading life to which they had become victims.

Delinquent Children

37. The problem of delinquent children is extremely complicated and the problem is entirely different in cities as distinguished from rural areas.

38. Family life, however, miserable it may be in the rural areas, is not broken and, therefore, the problem of delinquency in rural areas is not very keen. Villages somehow manage to own and absorb orphans, and whatever the treatment given to them, they are generally not disowned. To this extent the rural population may be said to have a social solidarity.

39. It is otherwise with towns and cities. The upper sections of society, the well-to-do and the organized, somehow manage to care for the orphans and the destitute of their own caste or community. But lower in the scale such children are often left to their own fate. Naturally, they go astray and sometimes become the victims of greed, cupidity, and passion. Sometimes they are taken into the so-called protection of unscrupulous people, and given food and shelter. But they are made to beg, to earn money by other dubious means and are exploited like cattle. Such children generally learn all kinds of vices and are trained to deceit and crime. Having at an early age lost all faith, having practically never known love, they soon grow cynical and resist all attempts at reclamation. Unfortunately such attempts are also very rare. Modern society has established juvenile courts. There are laws regarding the delinquent, but those who probe deep into the situation have come to the conclusion that the provisions for their rehabilitation are totally inadequate.

40. It is not more or even better legislation, or better provision for the maintenance and education of such children that matters; it is the quality of the reforming agency that is all important. There must be the human touch. Persons with missionary zeal and thorough understanding of the psychology of uprooted youth, must take up this work, and the State must help such people without too much red-tape and labyrinthine routine.

Denotified Communities

41. As many as 127 groups aggregating 22.68 lakhs in 1949 and 24.64 lakhs in 1951, have been described in official records as Ex-Criminal Tribes. They are persons who were regarded as criminals by occupation, and who were said to train members of their family to a life of crime. They are quite different from the "gundas" and "gangs" of large cities, who are seldom hereditary criminals. These traditional rural groups with their caste panchayats, definite training for crime and provision for protection against injury or death, maintain a remarkable code of discipline, mutual loyalty and rigid formalities and rituals which lead to group solidarity.

42. These groups could be divided into two sections (i) nomadic and (ii) settled. The nomadic groups include the gypsy-like tribes such as Sansis, Kanjars, etc. and have an innate preference for a life of adventure. The settled and semi-settled groups have descended from irregular fighting men or persons uprooted from their original homes due to invasions and other political upheavals. Some deteriorated as a result of extreme poverty and were then shunned by society. Although the main cause of their criminality is economic, there are other psychological factors behind crime and love of adventure which are no less important.

43. Before settlement in colonies, they used to eke out a livelihood by hunting, selling jungle products, exhibiting bear and monkey dances, snake-charming, selling medicinal herbs and other goods and supplemented these earnings by begging. In some communities the women-folk used to sing and dance and were of easy virtue, and they were often used in securing the information required for committing a crime. The technique employed and the types of offences committed by the various tribes varied from place to place or tribe to tribe. Training in thief-craft was given to their children before they actually started on their career. The tribal organization encouraged loyalty and co-operation among the different members. Anecdotes of daring deeds performed by notorious robbers and dacoits were recounted for the inspiration of the youth of the tribe. Certain occurrences and signs were paraded as denoting approval by gods and goddesses of their conduct. A member who committed a crime under hazardous circumstances was lionised. Boys had to prove their skill in the commission of crime before they could expect to acquire their life companions. Their status in society was low and they were treated as untouchables on account of their objectionable mode of life and notoriety. For example, the Sansis were considered to be inferior even to sweepers. As a result of education and settlement on land and in colonies they have become wholly or partially reformed. They have begun to copy the manners and customs of the people among whom they have settled. They now appreciate such things as furniture, sewing machines, cycles, gramophones, fine carpets, clothes and articles of luxury.

44. The men have begun working as industrial or agricultural labourers and, in some cases, as teachers and clerks. Some of their women-folk have taken to house-hold work. They no longer spend their illicit gains in one night on meat, wine and gambling and starve for a number of days thereafter. They are now more provident and careful. They have relegated their own dialects to a decadent past and now converse in the language of the people among whom they live. Where colonies have worked successfully, a large number of these groups have become accepted members of society.

45. During early British rule the Criminal Tribes were dealt with under Regulation 26 of 1793; subsequently by a separate "Thaggi and Dacoity" Department, and finally by the enactment of the Indian Penal Code of 1860. But crime was still on the increase and so the Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1897, which was later consolidated into the Central Act of 1924. The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee was appointed in 1949, and as a result of its recommendation, the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, was repealed throughout India with effect from 31st

August 1952, by the Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act, 1952. After the repeal of the Act, all these tribes ceased to be treated as Criminal and they had no longer to register themselves or submit to roll calls, but those members of the tribes who committed offences could be dealt with under the "Acts relating to restriction of habitual offenders" passed by almost all the States having a Criminal Tribes population. They are now allowed to move freely and settle anywhere, being no longer required to report to the police every midnight. Only those persons who commit three or more offences within a specified period are notified as habitual offenders, their movements are restricted and they have to report their presence at fixed intervals.

46. We visited several colonies of these communities in the various States and were able to realize the difficulty in rehabilitating them. We noted signs of improvement and a keen anxiety on the part of these communities to advance. Statistics also support this impression. In 1925 the total population of these notified groups was estimated at about 40 lakhs out of which 1,08,000 only were registered. In 1950, they were 22.68 lakhs with a registered population of only 77,159. These figures apply to those groups only who have been at some stage or other officially declared to have criminal tendencies. The total number of communities supposed to have this habitual tendency to crime in any province or region is estimated to be much larger.

47. Many members of these groups desire to lead an honest life provided they can earn enough for the comparatively expensive way of living to which they are accustomed. Where social workers or Government departments have succeeded in securing sufficient continuous and remunerative employment, crime has decreased, if not, completely ceased. Generally speaking, such groups are intelligent, hardy and persistent and the diversion of their talents into peaceful and productive occupation will repay in increased production and in greater economic progress many times the expenditure incurred on them.

48. We recommend that the following measures be adopted for the members of these communities:—

- (1) They should not be called Tribes. Nor should the names 'Criminal' or 'Ex-criminal' be attached to them. They could be simply called denotified communities.
- (2) In the lists of the Ex-criminal Tribes (denotified communities) prepared by us we have supported the policy of dividing them into Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes or Other Backward Classes for getting them the benefits available to the categories concerned. Purely nomadic groups (without a fixed habitation) should be given facilities in the matter of land and housing, or for settling down to steady productive business.
- (3) These groups may be distributed in small groups in towns and villages where they would come in contact with other people, and get an opportunity for turning a new leaf. This would help in their eventual assimilation in society.
- (4) Moral instruction should be imparted to them combined with education, sports and other nation building activities. A certificate of having undergone such a course of moral

instruction would be helpful to these persons in getting settled occupation or in securing jobs.

- (5) Modern methods of criminology and penology and the services of trained psychologists and psychiatrists in addition to those of social welfare workers should be employed in reforming habitual offenders and weaning them away from crime. Individual case-study methods should be employed to an increasing extent.
- (6) Basic education at primary, vocational and technical levels should be given to them; also training for cottage industries, handicrafts, agriculture, etc.
- (7) The punishment awarded for new crime should be not entirely punitive but should possess an element of curative-reformative nature. In lieu of punishment there might be provision for compensation to be paid to the aggrieved party.
- (8) Group criminality should be treated differently from the acquired criminality of individuals, and children of these groups should be removed from their parents on attaining the age of seven and should be put in suitable hostels. The hereditary caste panchayat system of these groups should be abolished. It might be replaced by a multi-purpose co-operative society with a secretary loaned by Government.
- (9) The State of Bombay, which was among the first to abolish the Criminal Tribes Act, has made radical reforms for ordinary prisoners. In the Swatantrapur Colony in Satara District "the prisoners are provided with free accommodation and are allowed to live with their families. Work is provided both for them and their family members on the agricultural farms there. They receive wages for the work they perform. The prisoners thus enjoy practically all the freedom and can settle in the colony, if they desire after their release." Such facilities might be extended to ex-criminal groups where they deserve them.

Backward Areas

49. During our tours of different States, we endeavoured to visit backward areas and study the conditions of backward people living therein. We visited Rampur Bushar in Himachal Pradesh, Kalsi and Tehri Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh, hilly areas of Udaipur in Rajasthan, Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Alirajpur in Jobat in Madhya Bharat, Amarkantak of Vindhya Pradesh, and several other backward tracts inhabited by socially and educationally backward people. By and large, people in these areas have lagged far behind socially and educationally than their own brethren in the same State. These areas have been rendered backward either by the British rule or by the apathy of the Princes in whose States such areas fell. Some of the areas were declared as backward tracts under the India Act of 1919 and 'Partially excluded' and 'Excluded areas' under the Government of India Act 1935. The purpose behind such classification was to bring such areas under the special care of Governors of the provinces for the maintenance of Law and Order.

50. The conception of a welfare State in democratic set up necessitates an over-all development of the country. A relentless war must be waged on every front, against backwardness. Some Part C States as Himachal Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh requested the Commission to recommend that some tracts within their boundaries should be declared as backward areas. Others like Rajasthan and Bombay made specific representation to the Commission to recommend that more areas be declared as Scheduled Areas.

51. The Commission is not competent to entertain such representation. It is our firm view, however, that every effort should be made to remove backwardness in these areas, by allocating more community projects, national extension service blocks, social welfare extension projects and other developmental schemes. We also suggest that proposals made by some of the States for the declaration of Scheduled Areas should be examined and an early action should be taken in the matter. We also recommend that some *ad-hoc* grants should be made for the development of communications in those areas.



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CHAPTER V

BACKWARDNESS

Causes of Backwardness

It has been noted already that the problem of backwardness has arisen on account of the defective Hindu social order. Even Islam and Christianity could not escape the all pervasive influence of caste. They too found it necessary for social prestige to observe untouchability and thus they condemned a section amongst their converts to remain backward and neglected.

2. Many representatives who met us, and especially those of younger generations, attributed the present plight of a large number of the backward classes to economic backwardness and suggested with a facile logic that the only way to remove social evils was to improve the economic conditions of the depressed and backward people. The economic backwardness of a large majority of the people is certainly alarming, and in itself constitutes a colossal problem. But we must recognize that in India economic backwardness is often the result and not the cause of social evils. Our society was not built essentially on an economic structure but on the mediaeval ideas of 'Varna', caste and a social hierarchy. Most people living in the villages and a substantial number living in urban or semi-urban areas are still dominated by a mediaeval social concept which influences very considerably their daily life.

3. Ideas of ceremonial purity, restrictions on inter-caste marriages, taboos on food and drink, social segregation, feelings of caste loyalty and superiority have all contributed to the backwardness of a large number of communities in Indian society. Superstition, unwholesome customs and practices and unclean habits came to be associated with some communities of these backward classes. Some small nomadic communities, having no fixed habitation or security of employment, are given to witchcraft, and eke out their livelihood by hunting and bird catching. These have remained still largely primitive. In some cases special amenities and privileges were denied to social groups that dared to go against standards set by dominant people and these communities gradually became backward. In certain other cases differences in social level often made understanding mutual intercourse difficult. This weighed heaviest on the weaker communities of the lower social scale. The backwardness of some other communities is due to the zeal of certain social or religious reformers who wished to impose their own social pattern on people and regarded those who did not accept that pattern as being socially inferior.

4. Physical and economic causes have played an increasing part in contributing to the backwardness of a large number of these communities. Lack of communications, living in inaccessible areas and unhealthy localities have kept many from progressive influences. Disruption of the old village economy and the consequent decay of cottage and rural industries contributed to large-scale unemployment and under-employment in rural areas. Exploitation of the

wealth of this country during the British rule caused further impoverishment of the Nation. Without economic prosperity a large number of rural communities found themselves helpless and became poorer day by day. Poverty and helplessness further deepened the backwardness of these communities. Some of them even lost what little traditional education they had been getting through their occupations and professions.

5. Growth of towns and industries and the advantages of employment in Government service drew most of the available talent and leadership from the villages to the urban areas. Communities left behind in the rural areas deprived of proper leadership, drifted more and more to backwardness.

6. Denial of educational opportunities to a large mass of people occupying the lower social scale was another feature of the same system. The failure to establish an adequate number of educational institutions in the rural areas, and lack of monetary means in the poorer sections of the backward classes further aggravated their plight. Consequent non-representation of these classes on an adequate scale in the Government services which carried prestige and authority widened the gulf between the advanced and the backward communities.

7. Thus the colossal extent of backwardness of a large number of communities in the country is the result of the defective social organization supported by an equally defective social ideal which had been accepted for generations. Thus poverty, ignorance, lack of educational facilities and lack of encouragement to enter Government service and other lucrative jobs have contributed in no small measure the backwardness of these communities.

Criteria of Backwardness

8. The terms of reference of this Commission are that "it shall
 - (a) determine the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any sections of the people in the territory of India should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes; and, in accordance with such criteria prepare a list of such classes setting out also their approximate number and their territorial distribution;
 - (b) investigate the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour."

The primary task of this Commission is to determine the criteria of backwardness to find out who are socially and educationally backward among the people of India, and to investigate the conditions of all such classes. The material for such determination must be sought from the conditions of present-day society. The causes of the backwardness of a large section of the population are not very simple. A variety of causes—social, environmental, economic and political—have operated both openly and in a subtle form for centuries to create the present colossal problem of backwardness. In chapter III (Caste and Society) we have traced the evolution of the Hindu social order and have noted that the problem of backwardness was created by a defective social system. Economic backwardness is the result

and not the cause of many social evils of the present day. Our society was built not on economic structure but on the mediaeval concepts of 'Varna', caste and social hierarchy. The whole history of India is the history of the domination of certain religious sects, creeds and denominations. During Muslim and British rule, the religion of the rulers dominated even politics. It is for the first time the Swaraj Government has chosen to be secular in character. It will take some time before the denominational psychology of the Government servants disappears.

9. We have considered the opinion that the terms of reference indicated above do not refer to caste but to sections or classes of people who are socially and educationally backward. It was apprehended that if the basic caste system is taken into account, more harm than good will be done to the nation. It has been suggested that the Commission might recommend concessions for groups of people, not associated with a caste or a sub-caste, but the common hereditary occupations or common professions. Concessions may be granted to 'Chamars' not because they belong to a caste or a sub-caste, but because they have been following a particular trade or calling. If it is found that a certain community had been following a particular trade for a specified minimum number of years, it might be given special facilities for training in that line. There should be a flat refusal to recognize a group based on caste considerations.

"Another important view that has been placed before us was that the implications of Article 340 are that there are other sections of the people, who, though not so backward as the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, yet have inferior social status. It is for such sections that some special measures will be needed." According to such a view sections of people who are "engaged in what may conveniently be called semi-dirty, or semi-isolated occupations" are to be considered as backward and to be recommended for relief.

10. Before examining these views we should like to make it clear that we are not less anxious to eradicate the evils of the caste system nor are we desirous of perpetuating a system which is operating to the detriment of common nationhood. We tried to avoid caste but we found it difficult to ignore caste in the present prevailing conditions. We wish it were easy to dissociate caste from social backwardness at the present juncture. In modern time anybody can take to any profession. The Brahman, taking to tailoring, does not become a tailor by caste, nor is his social status lowered as a Brahman. A Brahman may be a seller of boots and shoes, and yet his social status is not lowered thereby. Social backwardness, therefore, is not today due to the particular profession of a person, but we cannot escape caste in considering the social backwardness in India. It is not easy to group sections of people under certain occupations. The original four-fold division 'Varna' influenced the formation of occupational castes and sub-castes. There are certain distinct communities who are not confined to any one occupation, and it would be difficult to categorise them under any known occupations. There are certain castes and sub-castes that are based on regionalism. Every caste high or low accepted the doctrine of *noblesse oblige*. Each caste had to keep up its peculiar tradition. This gave cultural dignity to each caste, resulting in a well-recognized or partially recognized hierarchy

of castes. Certain castes tried to upgrade themselves in the caste-hierarchy, but they succeeded only when they could show a corresponding cultural or political position otherwise the upper castes refused to recognize the new garb put and such castes remained in the same old position.

11. It is not wrong to assume that social backwardness has largely contributed to the educational backwardness of a large number of social groups. Some who were not socially and economically low did not take to education, for instance the Muslims, in the beginning of the British rule, were too proud to take to English education. There was at least one section among the Sikhs—Namdharis—which on patriotic grounds rejected British education.

12. The Muslim rulers had to accept caste as a social distinction. The Christians too found caste very powerful. In the extreme South they still recognize social and religious distinction between caste Christians and untouchable Christians. Some Christian missionaries in Maharashtra and other places discovered that inter-caste marriages amongst Christians oftentimes led to unhappy results. The Christians of Goa still consult caste and 'gotra' in the minutest details when arranging marriages amongst themselves.

13. All this goes to prove that social backwardness is mainly based on racial, tribal, caste and denominational differences.

14. We think the Commission is justified in interpreting the terms of reference as mainly relating to social hierarchy based on caste. Caste generally depends upon birth; it may also depend upon habitat, and it may create further cleavage due to conversions and denominational differences.

15. We repeat that the interpretation put upon the terms of reference by the Commission is not only correct but inevitable and no other interpretation is possible.

16. Considering the comprehensive nature of our enquiry we proceeded to formulate an exhaustive questionnaire. To start with, it suggested certain criteria of backwardness not so much to circumscribe the freedom of those who should send their replies, but to show them the many ways in which the sources of backwardness could be investigated. Only through such investigation can determinative criteria be arrived at. The portion of the questionnaire regarding these tentative criteria is reproduced below for ready reference:—

"1. Would you recognize the following as the criteria for backwardness? Is the list exhaustive or would you suggest any additions or modifications:—

- (a) Their place of habitation being too poor or barren, and being far removed from centres of civilization; and inaccessible owing to lack of good all-weather roads, good markets or educational institutions nearby.
- (b) Ownership of land, houses and other property being denied to them or being quite beyond their means to acquire.
- (c) Their profession, trade or occupation being such that they get very poor return for the amount of energy spent, or,

on account of the social structure, being prejudicial to their getting adequate return for their labour.

- (d) Their finding it difficult to establish contacts with advanced communities owing to prejudices either in their own minds or in the minds of those who are more favourably situated.
- (e) Their being subjected to some social stigma or inferiority, by which they find it difficult to get access to places of cultural or artistic training or of religious and secular education.
- (f) By the mere fact of their being segregated from more fortunate sections of society on account of taboos against inter-marriage, inter-dining and similar opportunities of association.
- (g) Owing to age-old social customs preventing members of such communities from enjoying certain amenities or status in society.
- (h) The percentage of literacy and general education among them being too poor even as compared to the general low level of literacy in the country.
- (i) There being very few persons in their community with education adequate for leadership or, even if available, their not being recognized or encouraged.
- (j) The bulk of the community being unable or too slow to pick up training for business or industries or public services.
- (k) Backwardness could also be determined by a very poor conception of sanitation, by a primitive way of worship, or an indifferent regard for law and order, or unwillingness to resort to a settled life, or by very poor and extremely primitive methods followed in agriculture, or by inability to understand the function of money and monetary transactions or by certain suicidal vices and social customs.

2. What additional criteria, if any, would you adopt for ascertaining what classes or communities are backward among the Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindu denominations in your State?

Note—Care must be taken to distinguish between these characteristics being found in a community in general as against a few unfortunate individuals or families being found to conform to these criteria. It is not intended to dub or recognize mere individuals, whatever their number, as backward. It is only when a known and distinguishable *class or section* is found to conform to these criteria that they could be recognized as backward."

17. A careful perusal of the above particulars will indicate how difficult it is to go by any one standard in determining the backwardness of a community, caste or social group. This is specially so in a country where diverse conditions of social practices, customs and manners, climate, soil, rainfall, vast distances, and variety of languages and dialects, and different systems of family life—patriarchal and matriarchal—add to the complexity of the problem. We expected

that the State Governments would be able to furnish us enough material to determine the criteria easily. Unfortunately, the material furnished by the States was not adequate or satisfactory and often appeared to have been most casually collected. Some Governments contented themselves by merely saying that the suggestions mentioned by us in our questionnaire are sufficiently exhaustive. We were obliged therefore to rely greatly on information from published works, in particular from the Census Reports, and on information furnished by the representatives of several communities and the leaders of public opinion.

18. In the case of Scheduled Castes it was easy to fix a single criterion. Untouchability, being peculiar to the Hindu social system, it was easy enough to recognize it. In the case of the Other Backward Classes no single formula could be devised as a criterion for determining whether any section or sections of the people should be regarded as socially and educationally backward. Some persons who appeared before us suggested that all persons belonging to the Shudra Class should be classed as backward socially and educationally. Others suggested that all poor people should be deemed backward while still others suggested that the percentage of literacy in a community and its representation in Government services should be the guiding factors in determining its backwardness. Our task was rendered further difficult by a recent movement among certain communities which aimed at upgrading themselves from lower to higher social scale. In many cases these communities had assumed names of the upper castes to gain social superiority. The cause of this movement was undoubtedly the social humiliation endured for centuries by such communities. Unfortunately, the new high caste names were not recognized by the traditionally superior castes. The representatives of communities who sought upgrading did not, however, hesitate to give us their original caste names lest they should lose the State help. The array of innumerable sub-castes into which the main communities had been split up in the course of centuries presented another difficulty particularly because in some cases each sub-caste was an endogamous group.

19. We have endeavoured to avoid both extremes and have tried to follow the middle path of considering a community backward if a major section of that community were backward according to certain standards. The suggestion to consider the entire Shudra class as socially and educationally backward cannot be accepted for that class, as it is constituted today, contains a few communities which, however small in number, have made some advance in recent decades. It is true that a large majority of the Shudra class are backward both socially and educationally. The test of literacy advanced by some persons is not always a sure guide, though it may indicate backwardness in a community. There are other factors to be considered in conjunction with literacy to determine whether a community is backward or not. For instance, some of the artisan classes are literate to the extent of knowing the three R's, but there is no general educational advancement among them. The majority of them have not even completed the elementary education stage. General educational backwardness cannot be the sole test either. For instance, a major section of the traditional trading communities are not educationally advanced in the modern sense of the term

though they occupy prominent places in trade, industry and commerce. In the past literacy was not absolutely essential for education and culture. Some of the Brahman scholars of olden times, though learned in the Vedas and Vedangas were unable to sign a document. Literacy in those days was recognized as the special concern mainly of the 'Kayasthas', although Brahmans generally speaking were literate. We found many illiterate Brahmans in Himachal Pradesh, in the hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh, and in Bankura district of West Bengal, but occupying socially a top place in the caste hierarchy.

20. Another formula suggested to us was that all those who do manual work of one kind or another for a livelihood generally occupied a lower scale in society and should, therefore, be placed among the backward classes. Some others suggested that artisans of exceptional skill should not be regarded as backward but of the intermediate class. These criteria cannot be accepted as of universal application since some of the manual labouring classes may be either backward or advanced depending upon various factors. That some skilled artisan classes were extremely backward, was evident to us when we came into direct contact with them during our tour of the States. For instance, sandalwood and ivory carvers, workers in metals and weavers of beautiful carpets were extremely backward both socially and educationally.

21. In our opinion, the criteria of backwardness can only be ascertained by probing deeper into the genesis of those distinctions between advanced and backward classes peculiar to the Hindu Social system. Those enjoying a higher social status with influence and power over other social groups and enjoying wealth or means to educate themselves; those occupying positions of power and authority in Government service or in trade, commerce and industry; and those who employ a large section of people under them, should all be classed as advanced. On the other hand, land owners of uneconomic holdings, agricultural and landless labourers, cattle and sheep breeders, petty traders, weavers, artisans and others engaged in unremunerative occupations, barbers, washermen, communities engaged in domestic and menial service and those who eke out a precarious living by hunting, and fortune-telling, should be brought under the category of backward classes. These are other considerations, such as, living in rural and inaccessible areas, cut off from the main centres of civilization and suffering from lack of modern facilities, etc. that should go into the determination of the criteria.

22. Consideration of the question of backwardness among Christians and Muslims, was not free from difficulty. Though these two religions do not recognize caste, unfortunately certain social groups among them were found to be very backward. In the South, Scheduled Caste converts into Christianity were found to be generally backward, and there was no free social intercourse with the rest of the Christian community. Among Muslims the Pinjaras or carders, the Momins or the weaving communities, Kassais or butchers, Bhistis or water-carriers, Fakirs or beggars, Labbes, Moplahs and many others were found to be backward.

23. The problem of backwardness among women presented another difficulty. Women, considered as a group, are generally

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backward, more especially so among the backward classes. Yet, it is not correct to treat them as a separate community.

24. Who, then are the backward people? Evidently those who do not command adequate and sufficient representation in Government service, for, this carries with it power, prestige and influence; those who do not command a large amount of natural resources, such as, lands, mines, forests, money, or industrial undertakings; those who live in insanitary surroundings and in ill-ventilated houses; those who are nomadic; those who live by begging and other unwholesome means; those who are agricultural labourers or those who practise unremunerative occupations without any means to enter better paying professions; and those who on account of poverty, ignorance and other social disabilities are unable to educate themselves or produce sufficient leadership, are all backward. The communities, classes or social groups who occupy an inferior social position in relation to the upper castes and who also answer the above description or at least major sections of such communities or classes as answer the above description, naturally come under the category of Other Backward Classes.

25. After a consideration of social conditions in Indian society and the causes for the backwardness of a large section of the people we adopt the following criteria for general guidance:—

- (1) Low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society.
- (2) Lack of general educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community.
- (3) Inadequate or no representation in Government service.
- (4) Inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.

26. The following description will be found helpful for classification of various communities as educationally and socially backward:—

- (1) Those who suffer from the stigma of untouchability or near untouchability.

Note—(These are already classified as Scheduled Tribes).

- (2) Those tribes who are not yet sufficiently assimilated in the general social order.

Note—(These are already classified as Scheduled Castes).

- (3) Those who, owing to long neglect, have been driven as a community to crime.

Note—(These were known as Criminal Tribes and now are known as Ex-criminal Tribes or Denotified Groups).

This group is now resolved into those belonging to Scheduled Castes, those belonging to Schedule Tribes—the remainder will be considered as belonging to Other Backward Classes.

- (4) Those nomads who do not enjoy any social respect and who have no appreciation of a fixed habitation and are given to mimicry, begging, jugglery, dancing, etc.
- (5) Communities consisting largely of agricultural or landless labourers.

- (6) Communities consisting largely of tenants without occupancy rights and those with insecure land tenure.
- (7) Communities consisting of a large percentage of small land owners with uneconomic holdings.
- (8) Communities engaged in cattle breeding, sheep breeding or fishing on a small scale.
- (9) Artisan and occupational classes without security of employment and whose traditional occupations have ceased to be remunerative.
- (10) Communities, the majority of whose people, do not have sufficient education and, therefore, have not secured adequate representation in Government service.
- (11) Social groups from among the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs who are still backward socially and educationally.
- (12) Communities occupying low position in social hierarchy.

Classification of Communities

27. The most difficult part of our work was the classification of communities into the category of Other Backward Classes. We have taken into consideration the social position which a community occupies in the caste hierarchy, the percentage of literacy and its general educational advancement; and its representation in Government service or in the industrial sphere. The economic backwardness had also to be kept in view in order to find out the ability of a community to take advantage of the available opportunities as also the recent trends in its advancement as a result of various measures initiated by State Governments during the last one or two decades. The material collected from various sources was analysed and tabulated under the following heads:—

- (1) Various names under which a community or communities are known throughout India;
- (2) The traditional occupation or profession of a community or communities of allied groups;
- (3) The percentage of literacy or the general educational advancement made by a community;
- (4) The estimated population of a community, if available;
- (5) The distribution of the various communities throughout the State or their concentration in certain areas.

28. The lists of Other Backward Classes published by the Education Ministry, Government of India, for the purpose of educational aid and the lists furnished by the State Governments along with their replies to our questionnaire, were helpful in classifying the communities. In fact these two lists formed the basis of our information. Whenever we found difficulties with regard to particular communities, we often sought the opinion of the State Government concerned on the question of inclusion or exclusion of such communities from the list of Other Backward Classes. The opinions of the representatives of various communities, leaders of public opinion and social workers dedicated to the service of the backward people, were also taken into consideration.

29. At one stage of our enquiry we thought that the task of preparing the lists of Other Backward Classes would be easy if certain well-known advanced communities could be classified first and the rest put in the Other Backward Classes list. Though such an enquiry was not a part of our work, we considered it would help us to understand the position of Other Backward Classes. Accordingly we sought this information from the various State Governments in our questionnaire. Some of the States stated that all classes except the Schedule Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes may be put in the category of advanced classes, but some of others have sent us lists of advanced communities according to their own standard.

30. Some of the representatives who appeared before us suggested that all the three twice-born (Dwija) classes should be listed as advanced and the remaining communities be brought under the category of Other Backward Classes. That the task was not so simple as this can be realised from the fact that some of the communities outside the Dwija group also have made considerable advance in recent years. Our work was further complicated by the procedure followed by the Census authorities during the 1951 Census in categorising certain communities as non-backward and others as backward for the purpose of Census computation. Their policy, perhaps, was to include among the non-backward group such of the communities as had contributed to the increase in the total literacy of a State during the decade immediately preceding the Census enumeration. But there was no authoritative list of Other Backward Classes. The Census had assumed one list; the Ministry of Education had prepared another; and it was left to the present Commission to recommend an authoritative list. The procedure adopted by the Census authorities was controverted by the Government of Mysore in their replies to our questionnaire, and they advanced sufficient reasons for not accepting the Census classification. We had to scrutinize the conditions of all communities most closely and carefully. On doing so we found that many of the communities classified as non-backward by the Census authorities were really backward both socially and educationally. The Commission had to rely not only on the traditional status of the communities in the social scale, but also on their general educational advancement and the representation they had secured in Government and other services. Their standing in the field of industry, trade or commerce had also to be taken into consideration.

31. Some persons suggested to us that substantial ownership of land conferred sufficient social status on land-owning communities and that they should be generally treated as advanced. This reasoning does not apply to communities that own uneconomic holdings or hold insecure tenures. Not a few of them are also socially and educationally backward. Moreover, the State Government did not propose to exclude all the land-owning communities from the list of Other Backward Classes.

32. We have made every effort to bring as many communities as possible who answer the criteria and in whose case the evidence was sufficient, into the list of Other Backward Classes. We are, however, conscious that in the conditions prevailing in the country it

has not been possible for us to get in touch with some communities who are not well known, nor was it possible for some of the most backward communities to get in touch with us. There are, therefore, bound to be omissions. It is our desire that any such omissions should not come in the way of any community being included later, and we suggest that in these cases backwardness be presumed. We came across some communities about whom we were not able to collect sufficient or any information except the name. Even such communities have been given the benefit of doubt and put in our list.

33. We also came across names of several communities in the Census records (the number of such communities running into nearly three thousand in Madhya Pradesh) concerning whom we were informed by the State authorities that many were merely sub-castes or sub-divisions of main communities. There were no experts to help us, nor were the State Governments in a position to group all the sub-castes into definitely recognizable main communities. We have, therefore, listed all such communities and have left their case to be examined by some other agency for future investigation. We may add that there was no representation on their behalf nor were the representatives of other communities who appeared before us able to throw any light on the conditions of these communities.

34. We have explained elsewhere the position as regards the interpretation of the terms of reference.

35. We had to interpret social backwardness in terms of the social background and historical evolution of the problem during the past hundred years and more.

36. Before arriving at our own criteria of social backwardness, we preferred to go round the country and request representatives of public opinion to supply us with their own conception and criteria of social backwardness.

37. We had before us a list of backward classes (other than the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) prepared by the Ministry of Education at the Centre. Their list was prepared with the assistance of the various State Governments. We thus saw that the State Governments and the Central Government were behind that list. These lists have worked satisfactorily so far as they go. Everywhere, representatives of the various communities pleaded with us that those lists should be accepted and enlarged; but that on no account should they be curtailed.

38. Scheduled Castes could be identified by the criterion of untouchability. In case of other castes although socially backward, no such tangible criteria like that of untouchability could be applied. We had, therefore, to accept the general notion of social hierarchy of high and low and to put together all those communities that were regarded as socially inferior, whatever connotation this phrase may have to different people in different parts of the country.

39. We, as practical persons, therefore, worked on the basis of lists accepted and acted upon by the Ministry of Education at the Centre and the lists furnished by the States in reply to our questionnaire. We had to accept in a general way the claims of communities which answered the criteria fixed by us.

40. We were not able to get correct population figures of all the communities listed by us in the Other Backward Classes group. The estimated population figures for some of the communities could be arrived at by finding the ratio of increase in the population decade by decade, and even here the Census authorities were not sure of the figures.

41. We thus prepared lists of Other Backward Classes and also revised the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The exact total population of all the backward classes including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, is not available.

42. Names of castes that we have listed have not been specified as Hindu or Muslim and they should invariably be treated as caste names common to both. Thus Teli or Julaha includes Hindu and Muslim Teli or Julaha.

43. We suggest the setting up of a Board for the implementation of the policy for the advancement of all backward classes. This Board should be empowered to investigate the conditions of the communities who may later seek inclusion in the list of backward classes.



सत्यमेव जयते

CHAPTER VI

CONDITIONS OF BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR THEIR REMOVAL

1. While discussing the causes of backwardness of a large majority of the people, we have noticed that the social evils permeating society are generally attributed to their economic backwardness and it is confidently predicted that improvement in economic conditions of the depressed, suppressed and backward people would help the eradication of all social evils. But there are some who feel that in India, at any rate, economic backwardness is often the result and not the cause of many of these evils. Indian society has not been based on an economic structure, but on the mediaeval concept of 'Varna', of caste, of ceremonial purity and on ideas of taboo regarding food and drink. Society consists of carefully graded castes or communities and strangely enough the distinction between high and low is often observed more rigidly among communities in the lower rungs of the social ladder. Modern conditions, no doubt, are causing the disappearance of some of these social evils, especially in urban areas, but the people in villages still cling to antiquated customs and practices. It is, therefore, necessary that in any plan for the uplift of the backward classes, removal of social backwardness in rural areas must receive foremost consideration. Improvement in economic conditions will of course give them the needed strength to fight these social evils.

2. It should be remembered that in modern conditions of life, isolated treatment of any one cause of backwardness will not bring about the desired result. An integrated plan for the removal of all causes of backwardness accompanied by ameliorative measures will alone be able to remove this malady inherent in our society. Economic improvement, removal of social inequality, educational advancement and representation of these classes in spheres of power, prestige and authority should form the main features of such a plan.

3. During our tour in the State we were struck by the appalling conditions of poverty, unemployment and under-employment, illiteracy, antiquated social customs and practices and other characteristics of backwardness of a large part of the population. We discussed the problems of backwardness with representatives of various communities, leaders of public opinion, social workers, Government servants and Ministers. We also recorded evidence both oral and documentary produced before us on the nature and extent of causes contributing to backwardness and on the varied nature of ameliorative measures suggested for the advancement of these classes. The demand everywhere was for adequate educational aid in the form of freeships, scholarships, hostel facilities, reservation of seats in educational institutions, adequate representation in Government Service, fuller employment facilities by reviving and improving cottage industries, improvement in housing conditions, improvement in agricultural practices, protection to the tenants, land for the landless, minimum wages for agricultural labour, adequate rural credit facilities, marketing facilities, prevention of exploitation, etc.

4. We noticed that the advent of freedom had not yet sufficiently brought about the necessary change in the psychology of the people and very little had been done to create a sense of urgency in their mind for purposeful action in rebuilding India. To the backward classes, at any rate, the ideals propounded in the Constitution and the goal set by the Planning Commission remained largely a distant picture. The Commission had the painful experience of finding among the masses a feeling of restlessness, discontent, apathy, a sense of resignation or resentment at their own low social position. It also discovered, apart from the policy of the Governments—Central and State—that the administrative machinery through which their policies are implemented has not been sufficiently reformed and geared up to zestful action. It was working in the same old manner of British days except for a few enthusiastic officers here and there. It still retained an air of official superiority and consisted mainly of persons who look with disfavour and disdain upon manual labour. In fact, the grievance was that the administrative services lack sympathy and understanding of the feelings and aspirations of the backward classes.

5. These symptoms are not conducive to enthusing the masses to vigorous action in rebuilding the social structure and fusing various elements of society into a common nationhood. The Commission recognizes that under the democratic Constitution which the Nation has adopted, it is neither possible nor desirable to use totalitarian methods to bring about the desired change. It is also conscious of the meagre improvement that is possible in an acquisitive society where conscious or unconscious exploitation is not definitely discouraged. It was only too clear to the Commission that the past social and political movements for the uplift of the backward classes led sometimes by short-sighted leaders had not brought about radical improvement in their condition. The political struggle before the advent of freedom and the subsequent State Policy has awakened the masses to a realization of their own low position in the social scale and to the lack of adequate facilities for their advancement, lack of sufficient opportunities in Government and other services which could give them prestige and security. This has brought about an awareness in them of their being neglected by the socially advanced classes.

6. We, therefore, consider it necessary that a definite national ideal of Sarvodaya for society as a whole, and or socialistic pattern for the Government should be placed before the Nation, in unambiguous terms, and that steps should be taken to achieve that ideal in as short a time as possible. Unless this is done, it will be difficult to create hope and enthusiasm among the backward classes who have been victims of social and economic exploitation for centuries. It is gratifying to record that the Indian Parliament has accepted the socialistic pattern of society as the immediate objective.

7. This Commission is mainly concerned with the problems of social and educational backwardness of "the Other Backward Classes". Yet as noted earlier, causes of all kinds of backwardness have to be investigated and measures undertaken for all round improvement in the conditions of all the backward classes together, for, human activities towards human progress necessitate comprehensive treatment. The approach to these problems should be essen-

tially human. Conditions or causes which have contributed to backwardness should be removed and the necessary atmosphere re-established in which their progress is not only not impeded but is positively faster. These problems will be dealt with under the following heads:—

- A. Political
- B. Economic and industrial
- C. Communications
- D. Public Health and rural water-supply
- E. Rural housing
- F. Social
- G. Education
- H. Representation in Government service.

A. POLITICAL

8. Many representatives of the backward classes and a few leaders of public opinion urged before the Commission that the interests of these classes have been sadly neglected even in the present political set-up. They pointed out that the present advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, however slow it may have been, was in a great measure, due to their effective representation in the Legislatures of the country. They argued that such a representation to other backward classes will secure for them a voice in the affairs of the country and will help in the speedy amelioration of their conditions. They demanded, therefore, adequate representation in Parliament and in the State Legislatures. These arguments, though they appear plausible, are not essentially sound.

9. The special or additional representation accorded to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislatures was due to historical reasons as well as to the peculiar social conditions prevailing. The Scheduled Castes suffered for ages from the stigma of untouchability and social segregation. On the other hand, the mode of living of the Schedule Tribes was peculiar. These circumstances necessitated special safeguards for these classes and due provision was, therefore, made in the Constitution for a temporary period in the interest of these classes. It was not the idea to perpetuate segregation.

10. It may be remembered in this connection, how the policy of separate electorates and reservation of seats in the Legislatures for Muslims, brought about disastrous results. It is too recent to be forgotten. Even the reservation granted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the present Constitution is only for a period of ten years. Any extension of this principle to Other Backward Classes will have far-reaching repercussions. Instead of knitting various sections of the population into a common nationhood, it would only generate disruption and disunity.

11. Some thirty years back, a movement was started in the South, known as the Non-Brahman Movement. The Brahmans in that part of the country had almost a traditional monopoly of all Government services and learned professions. They were also foremost in the political life of South India. The new movement had its origin in Maharashtra and gradually travelled South because of the

sociological reasons mentioned above. All communities, including the Muslims and Christians, joined together in their struggle against Brahman supremacy, to secure a share in Government service and in political power. Although the genesis of that movement was essentially communal, the masses who resented an inferior status supported the leaders of that movement. It brought about a few social and economic changes and worked for the advancement of backward classes in the field of education and representation in Government service. The results were not very outstanding. This movement could not stand against the powerful nationalist movement under the leadership of Gandhiji and his lieutenant, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, both of whom were non-Brahmans. The leaders of the non-Brahman movement had to shed their communalism and most of them joined nationalist forces.

12. Communalism and the psychology behind it, is a complex phenomenon. It has its roots in the clannish spirit and tribal loyalty of primitive society. It is undoubtedly an anachronism in the modern world. A progressive people working for national solidarity, must discourage such a tendency and remove all causes of sectional self-aggrandisement and communal domination.

13. The framers of the Indian Constitution recognized the historical processes that were at work in India and the uneven development of the various sections of the Indian population. They took cognizance of the social system with its undesirable features of caste hierarchy. They have, therefore, made adequate provision for the protection and uplift of Other Backward Classes also. While all that was necessary was granted and fully assured they discountenanced the extending of political privilege to any further sections of the population. The introduction of universal adult franchise, a far-reaching and revolutionary step was conceived essentially in the interests of the masses. It was an act of faith and the nation owes this vital step to Gandhiji. It has given to the masses the most potent and powerful instrument with which to shape their destiny. Many were sceptical at the time as to its wide use by the illiterate masses of the country. But the results of the last general elections (1952) justified the faith reposed in them. With adult franchise, all power is virtually transferred to the masses, who form the bulk of the population; and if they are today too weak and untrained to wield such tremendous power, what is wanted is the strengthening of their hands through education and propaganda and not to offer another weapon to weak hands. With the growing awakening of the masses, it is possible to bring about desirable shifts in political power, provided the franchise is judiciously used.

14. After considering all aspects of the question, we have come to the conclusion that it would be suicidal to accord any additional or special political representation to any community or communities.

15. We are not unaware of the disruptive forces that are trying to entrench themselves by exploiting the prevailing atmosphere. It is essential in the interest of national solidarity that such tendencies are nipped in the bud. We, therefore, suggest that the political parties should take note of the unhealthy symptoms in the body-politic, and draw all people together under a well-defined economic and social programme, leaving no room for bitterness or frustration

or any feeling that the interests of certain sections of the community are being ignored.

B. ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL

16. The problem of the backward classes is really the problem of Rural India. The backwardness and appalling poverty of the masses are due largely to two centuries of foreign rule. The devastating assault on the old village economy hastened the disruption of rural life. The educational and industrial policy followed by the British attracted all available talent mostly from the upper classes to the urban areas and to Government service. Unrestricted competition of mills and factories and the import of foreign goods disorganized the once thriving rural industries and village handicrafts. With the decay of rural industries and domestic handicrafts, the artisans lost not only their gainful occupation but also their hereditary education, skill and culture. They were driven to backwardness and despair. No effective attempts were made to improve agriculture, increase irrigation facilities or to develop power on an adequate scale. Mineral resources were not fully tapped. Communications were not developed on an adequate scale. In the last four or five decades, there has been some industrial development, accompanied by urbanisation and expansion of commerce. Large towns and cities have grown up denuding the villages of local talent and leadership. The process of migration to urban areas must now be reversed if the villages are to become once again the centres of vitality and activity.

17. Political freedom will not mean much to the backward classes unless the much needed social freedom is also assured in as short a time as possible. On page 28 of the First Five Year Plan the objectives are stated as follows:—

“It is no longer possible to think of development as a process merely of increasing the available supplies of material goods; it is necessary to ensure that simultaneously a steady advance is made towards the realisation of wider objectives such as full employment and the removal of economic inequalities. Maximum production, full employment, the attainment of economic equality and social justice which constitute the accepted objectives of planning under present-day conditions are not really so many different ideas but a series of related aims which the country must work for..... On the other hand, equality and social justice, will have little content unless the production potential of the community is substantially raised.”

18. We are chiefly concerned with the amelioration of the conditions of backward classes, a large majority of whom live in rural areas. Out of a total population of 35.7 crores according to 1951 Census, 29.5 crores or nearly 83 per cent live in about 5,58,000 villages while the remaining 6.2 crores or nearly 17 per cent live in 3,018 towns and cities. The rural population is nearly five times that of the urban, i.e., nearly 5 out of 6 Indians live in rural areas. According to the same Census, 10.44 crores, or about 29 per cent are self-supporting, the rest depend in one degree or another on the

self-supporting persons. Some are earning dependants while others are non-earning dependants. Of the 10.44 crores of self-supporting persons in India, as many as 8.57 crores or 82 per cent live in the rural area. Of the 3.79 crores of earning dependants, 3.51 crores or 93 per cent and of the 21.43 crores of non-earning dependants, 17.39 crores or 81 per cent also live in the rural area. Thus, out of the rural population 29 per cent are self-supporting; 12 per cent are earning dependants and the remaining 59 per cent non-earning dependants. Self-supporting agriculturists in the rural area number 6.8 crores and constitute about 80 per cent of the total number of self-supporting persons in that area. According to the same Census, about 12 per cent of the total of self-supporting persons who live in the urban areas are also dependant on agriculture.

19. The following table gives the pattern of livelihood (1951 Census).*

Livelihood Class	Self-Supporting persons		All including dependants	
	Number (in crores)	Percentage to total	Number (in crores)	Percentage to total
A.—Agricultural broadly—				
I—Owner-cultivator (as defined by Census)	4.57	43.8	16.73	46.9
II—Tenant-cultivator (as defined by Census)	0.88	8.4	3.16	8.8
III—Agricultural labourer	1.49	14.3	4.48	12.6
IV—Others	0.16	1.5	0.53	1.5
Total ..	7.10	68.0	24.90	69.8
B.—Non-agricultural broadly —				
V—Industry	1.22	11.7	3.77	10.5
VI—Commerce	0.59	5.7	2.13	6.0
VII—Transport	0.17	1.6	0.56	1.6
VIII—Others	1.36	13.0	4.30	12.1
Total ..	3.34	32.0	10.76	30.2
Grand Total ..	10.44	100.0	35.66	100.0

* Summary Table IV—Livelihood classes and sub-classes, Census of India, Paper No. 3, 1953.

The following table* gives the pattern of livelihood of the rural non-agriculturists.

Means of livelihood	Number (in crores)	Percentage to total
1. Commerce	0.24	14.6
2. Transport, storage and communications	0.06	3.6
3. Processing and manufacturing:		
(a) foodstuffs, leather, textiles and products thereof	0.23	17.0
(b) metals, chemical and products thereof	0.05	3.0
(c) not classified elsewhere	0.15	9.1
4. Health, education and public administration	0.12	7.3
5. Mining and quarrying	0.05	3.0
6. Construction and utilities	0.08	4.8
7. Other primary industries not elsewhere specified	0.21	12.7
8. Services not elsewhere specified	0.41	24.9
Total	1.65	100.0

It should be noted that 29 per cent of those classes as rural non-agriculturists are engaged in the processing of foodstuffs, manufacturing of textiles, leather, metals etc. and other cottage and small-scale industries. [Item 3 (a) (b) and (c)]. In addition, as many as 13 per cent are engaged in other primary industries which include animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, etc. (item 7) making up, together with the previously mentioned group, 42 per cent of the total.

20. The picture of rural life will not be complete unless we consider the growth of population and the area of cultivated land which sustains it. The following table gives the growth of population:—

Census Year	Number (in lakhs)	Increase (+) decrease (—) during preceding decade (in lakhs)
1891	2,359	.. .. .
1901	2,355	4 (—)
1911	2,490	135 (plus)
1921	2,481	9 (—)
1931	2,755	274 (plus)
1941	3,128†	373 (plus)
1951	3,569	441 (plus)

*Summary Table No. V—Employers, employees and independent workers by divisions and sub-divisions, Census of India, Paper No. 3, 1953.

†According to the 1941 Census, this figure should be 3,148. It is necessary, however, to deduct 20 lakhs, as the estimated allowance for inflation of returns in West Bengal and Punjab. For a fuller account of this deduction and the reasons for the view that the recorded figures of successive censuses are sufficiently accurate and comparable, reference may be made to paras 10—15 of Appendix II.

It will be seen that during the thirty years following 1921 the numbers have increased from roughly 25 crores to about 35 crores. The following table* gives per capita area of cultivated land from decade to decade.

Census year	Area of cultivated land per capita (cents)
1891	109
1901	103
1911	109
1921	111
1931	104
1941	94
1951	84

The drop from the 1921 level, it may be noted, is nearly 25 per cent.

"There is little doubt" says the Census Commissioner "that the rate of growth of rural population has substantially outstripped the rate of progress of cultivation. Has there been a growth of rural industries and services on a scale sufficient to offset this difference or indeed to any extent at all? The picture of the land and the people which the Census reveals is one of increasing pressure on the land by the people of India as a whole whether they are consumers of what the land produces or are themselves producers on the land. For the latter, this, in turn, has implied an increasing inability to earn their normal livelihood from the land".†

21. The All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Report reveals a striking growth of rural agricultural labour population. It points out that from available evidence it appears that "in pre-British India there was no class of agricultural labourers as such, in the rural areas." The system of land tenure appears to be an important factor in the growth of agricultural labour. According to the Enquiry, "the villages consisted predominantly of agricultural families who formed 79.8 per cent of the total, agricultural landowners accounting for 22.2 per cent, tenants 27.2 per cent and agricultural workers for 30.4 per cent. The non-agricultural families formed 20.2 per cent (this included families with no specific stable occupation who formed

*Census of India, 1951, Vol. I (India), Part I-A—Report, page 141.

†All India Rural Credit Survey, p. 22.

about 0.5 per cent of the total). The more important occupations pursued by non-agricultural families were artisanship, public or private service (village officers, teachers etc.) and other salaried employment such as domestic service, and trade. The non-agricultural families of the above description constituted 14.7 per cent, while non-agricultural families depending on wages accounted for 5.5 per cent". The occupational pattern within the agricultural hierarchy shows considerable variation from State to State and from Census Zone to Census Zone, as given in the following table.

Percentage distribution of rural families by categories.*

	Agricultural land-owners	Agricultural tenants	Agricultural labourers			Non-agriculturalists
			With land	Without Land	Total	
North India ..	7.7	56.1	5.7	8.6	14.3	21.9
East India ..	16.3	29.9	19.0	13.7	32.7	21.1
South India ..	23.0	6.1	27.3	22.8	50.1	20.8
West India ..	44.8	18.4	8.8	11.6	20.4	16.4
Central India ..	25.0	22.0	14.6	22.1	36.7	16.3
North West India ..	49.2	25.0	2.7	7.1	9.8	23.0
All India ..	22.2	27.2	15.2	15.2	30.4	20.2

Of the 30.4 per cent of the total number of rural agricultural workers' families, 25.8 per cent are casual and 4.6 per cent attached. The agricultural families had a larger size (5.50) than the non-agricultural families (4.54). Amongst the agricultural families, the average number of persons per family of land owners (5.45) and tenants (5.39) was much higher than that of the agricultural workers' families (4.70). Thus, the land-holding classes had a larger number of persons per family than the landless ones.† According to the same source the average size of holdings per family is 7.5 acres though this average varies in different zones. The average holding is 4.5 acres in East and South India it is 12.6 acres in North-West India. Whereas the average size of holdings is about 7.5 acres, about 70 per cent of the holdings were below this average. Holdings below one acre formed about 17 per cent, those between 1 and 2½ acres to about 21 per cent, and those between 2½ and 5 acres another 21 per cent. Of the total number of holdings about 35 per cent were cultivated by owners, another 35 per cent by tenants, 20 per cent by labourers, and 10 per cent by non-agriculturalists. The percentages distribution of the total area of the

*All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Page 9.

†Agricultural enquiry, Page 13.

holdings as amongst these categories was 52.4 for land-owners, 35.7 for tenants, 7.8 for agricultural labourers, and 4.1 for non-agriculturists." The type of farming, therefore, in the rural areas is naturally on a small scale. The number of work-animals and ploughs owned are closely related to the number of holdings and their size. According to the general family survey the families of agricultural land-owners had 44.8 per cent of the ploughs, while those of tenants, agricultural workers and non-agriculturists had 38.2, 11.7, and 5.3 per cent respectively. On an average there was 0.7 plough per family. The average head of cattle per family of land-owners and tenants varied between three and four and the average per agricultural labour family was about one. The average number of sheep and goats per family came to 2.3, and the average number of poultry to only 0.9.

22. Housing conditions in rural areas according to the same enquiry reveals a dismal picture. A few big landlords, merchants and money-lenders had pucca houses but the working classes, the artisans and the marginal cultivators lived in kuchha houses with mud walls and thatched roofs. Eighty four per cent of the houses were kuchha though in East India the percentage was as high as 98.5 per cent. Houses with a single room formed 38 per cent; with two-rooms 28 per cent and 3 or more rooms 34 per cent.

23. Two factors are considered to be mainly responsible for the large-scale increase in the population of agricultural labour—the system of land tenure and increase in man—land ratio. The decay of rural industries is also responsible for adding to the class of agricultural labour. Smallness of land-holdings, primitive system of cultivation, lack of educational facilities, lack of adequate agricultural equipment, decay of rural industries causing unemployment and under-employment—have all contributed to the present poverty of the rural people.

24. It is often argued that the communities who own land and are owner-cultivators must be considered advanced. That this is an erroneous impression is clear from the fact that a large majority of them possess small patches of land, often unaided by irrigation facilities and consequently are not able to make enough out of the land. Vagaries of rainfall, and frequent occurrence of floods and droughts in various parts of the country further contribute to the misery of the several communities that depend on agriculture. Lack of education, inadequacy of rural credit, lack of marketing facilities and exploitation by middlemen, have kept down a large majority of them to the primitive type of agriculture. Poverty and ignorance are the inevitable result of the social and economic forces that are at work in rural areas.

25. It will be seen from paragraph 19 above, that 70 per cent of the population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. The following table* gives the estimates of the National Income Committee, according to which the total net national product of India in 1950-51 amounted to Rs. 9,550 crores.

*Final Report of the National Income Committee, 1954, p. 106.

	<i>Crores of Rs.</i>
1. Agriculture, animal husbandry and ancillary activities	4,780
2. Forestry and fishery	110
3. Mining	70
4. Factory establishment and small enterprises ...	1,460
5. Commerce, transport and communication ...	1,690
6. Other services	1,440
Total ...	<u>9,550</u>

It should be noted that half the net national product of India is contributed by agriculture, animal husbandry and allied activities which absorb as much as 70 per cent of the total population. The poverty of our backward classes who are mainly dependent on agriculture, is thus evident. In this context the results of the Rural Income Survey in Uttar Pradesh should be noted for they throw considerable light on the conditions of rural life.

*"Ten per cent of villagers in Uttar Pradesh have no land at all and about 85 per cent have no economic holdings, it is revealed in a survey conducted under the State Government's direction. It is understood that six village families out of every 15 are indebted. The survey work covered 15 sample families in each village and their 'per capita' income was found to be Rs. 190 as against the average per capita income of Rs. 261."

"Five per cent of the villagers are self-sufficient and running in surplus. Ten per cent are normally self-sufficient but run into debt when they perform marriages and the like. Fifty per cent of the villagers live hand to mouth—they work in fields or they go out in search of employment to neighbouring towns or big cities. Most of the remaining 35 per cent, constitute cottage industry workers and artisans. They are almost well off for six months in a year. For the rest of the year they run into debt to meet their daily requirements or go out in search of employment. Thus the results of the survey draw pointed attention to the need for a flourishing cottage industry sector in Indian economy."

The investigations by Dr. Ramamurti, Director, Central Statistical Organisation also show that in some States the income of the agricultural labourer is higher than that of the agricultural tenant or even the owner-cultivator. The latter two groups do not earn enough from agriculture while the agricultural labourer who is free to take up private labour at will earns more throughout the year. This emphasises the necessity of giving subsidiary occupation to all persons employed in agriculture. The cottage and village industries form the most important group of subsidiary employment and we strongly recommend that the backward classes even if employed in agriculture, should be given maximum help for their economic uplift through these industries.

The Commission, during its tours in various States came into direct touch with the several communities of the backward classes and the miserable conditions of their life.

*Page 5 of the Kurukshetra, monthly organ of the Community Projects Administration for January 1953.
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26. Any plan for the economic reconstruction of the country must necessarily include measures designed for the speedy uplift of the backward classes. Piecemeal reforms or isolated measures of uplift are no solution. Almost the first thing that should engage the attention of the Governments—Central and State—and the Planning Commission should be to recreate conditions in the country in which the development of these classes takes a natural growth. Economic and social causes that are operating to their detriment should be removed first.

27. The First Five Year Plan has emphasised on page 30; “while a fuller utilisation of idle man-power in the country must be a major objective and every effort must be made to create opportunities for work in the rural areas, through improvement in agriculture, development of cottage and small-scale industries and extensive programme of public works, especially in the slack season, the lack of necessary equipment and other materials needed for improving labour productivity limits the rate at which idle man-power can be absorbed.....steps must, undoubtedly, be taken to ensure the fullest possible utilisation, in furtherance of development programmes of labour power now running to waste.....” In our opinion, it is not necessary to wait indefinitely for, “productive equipment of a community”. As a matter of fact no time should be lost in making fuller use of the human resources, available skill and experience of the artisan and occupational classes to produce goods which are needed by the community. In recent months trends of development which are labour-intensive and which give ready and large-scale employment are finding favour with the authorities. We are not dealing with people who are totally untrained for any occupation, as we have in India, large sections of the population who are at least trained in their traditional occupations and who will acquit themselves well if conditions are recreated for plying those cottage industries and village handicrafts which were once the pride of India. We are not unaware of the need for improved or modern equipment for better production and increased output in cottage and rural industries under modern conditions, but these measures should not indefinitely postpone the full utilisation of existing sources of production and employment of traditional communities. Improved equipment or improved tools and training in modern methods of production may follow the above measures.

28. The main solution, therefore, for the speedy uplift of the backward classes in rural areas is not so much to wait for the creation of new avenues of employment as to provide favourable conditions in which their lost or decaying occupations may be revived. A large-scale employment of these communities in their traditional occupations of cottage and rural industries will alone immediately relieve the present pressure on land. It will also help in creating a suitable social atmosphere for economic uplift. It is only thereafter that we will have a clear picture of rural life which will enable us to re-organise agriculture on a sound and rational basis.

29. The First Five Year Plan envisages substantial increase in agricultural production of food-grains as well as of commercial crops. To that end many development programmes relating to major

and minor irrigation works, power production, extension of cultivation, reclamation of land, intensive farming, development of dairying and horticulture, have been included. They have also a programme for the development of fisheries to supplement land resources. But the plan, as such, has not evoked widespread enthusiasm among the masses. This point has been clearly brought out in the Report of the Constructive Work Committee of the Indian National Congress.*

"The economic policy and the ideology behind the Five Year Plan do not inspire sufficient confidence. It is felt that even the policies enunciated in the Five Year Plan have not been properly implemented. There is, therefore, no requisite urge on the part of congressmen to devote themselves whole-heartedly to constructive activity for building up a new India."

If the leaders of the party in power are unable to muster enough enthusiasm, much less can be expected from those who are socially and educationally backward.

India has elected to be a Welfare State, but the administrative machinery to implement the welfare measures under the Plan has remained the same as was designed mainly for the maintenance of law and order. Chester Bowles in his Ambassador's Report states on page 186: "Fully aware of my own lack of intimate knowledge of Indian village life, I began to realize that many of the Indian officials from Delhi on down through the State capitals to the villages themselves, brilliantly educated and competent in western ways, were almost equally estranged in one way or another, from village India". The following passage from another source makes the position clearer still:—

"Though it is now truly Indian Government, the people see the same officials in charge of administration, and often react with the same non-committal attitude as they previously used. But it is not all due to the people's attitude. Government offices are places of forms, unintelligible red tape and waiting-rooms that the uninitiated and uneducated feel it is best not to approach. A lawyer whom the author knew decided to leave his practice and devote himself to the service of his country. He therefore applied to be allowed to work in a scheme of rural development nearby. The answer was no, he was not a Government servant, and this was a Government project. A proper answer, perhaps for Government must be free to choose and engage its workers when it so desires, but hardly calculated to fire local enthusiasm for the project, or a feeling of response to Government's policies! Officials, therefore, are often only interested in carrying out the letter of the policy; rarely do they feel themselves to be the public's servants in the literal sense of the term. "(Land and society in Malabar by Adrian C. Mayer, pp 143-4)". The administrative set-up therefore, requires a complete re-orientation. There was widespread demand from the representatives of the backward classes that a large number of their own men should be taken in the services to bring about better social contact with the masses.

*Congress Bulletin, December 1954—page 415.

30. There is a variety of causes disturbing the even tenor of rural life; for instance, factious feelings, presence of anti-social elements, litigations often leading to breaches of peace. The removal of these causes is necessary for ensuring rural development. The present attraction of towns and cities which draws men away from rural areas should be removed by providing healthy modern amenities in the villages. It may not be possible in the beginning to serve all the villages, but a start could be made in central villages of compact blocks of 10—15 on a planned basis. For this purpose, rural areas may be divided into Panchkroshis (or Panchkoshi) (compact blocks of a certain number of villages where the outlying ones will be within a distance of five miles from the central village). All developmental activities should radiate from the central village of each such block. With these initial steps it would be possible to arouse enthusiasm among the backward classes for the re-building of India. *Panchkoshi* units with Basic Education and rural development activities will serve as pioneers for spreading the philosophy of self help, mutual help and *Sarvodaya*.

31. For the uplift of backward classes it is vital to have a proper land policy. Although the Five Year Plan has dealt with the question of land reforms and land distribution we make a few suggestions pertinent to the interest of backward classes as such. The abolition of feudal tenure, such as zamindari, jagirdari, is in progress in many States. A few tenures of feudal type still persist in some States. We recommend that early steps should be taken for the abolition of all kinds of tenures which jeopardise the implementation of the national land policy.

We were informed that old long-standing tenants or crop-sharers had been evicted by powerful zamindars in favour of their own men. This is perhaps due to the non-maintenance of correct record of the rights of those who work on the lands in zamindari areas. Other communities who were affected by the abolition of these intermediate tenures were potters, fishermen, and cultivators of Singada-nuts in shallow tanks. The grievances of these helpless communities who have been deprived of their prescriptive rights of generations, should be looked into by the authorities and their rights safeguarded.

32. The land legislation is of such a complicated nature that it is not easily understood by the rural population. Land reform acts should be simple and easily understandable by the backward communities in whose interest they are enacted. Otherwise, it will lead to endless litigation and exploitation. There should be no loopholes in legislation that might lead to social conflict in rural areas. Too many and frequent changes in land legislation create confusion and difficulty.

33. In spite of the many difficulties that still lurk as residuary legacy of the old zamindari system, the abolition of zamindari and other intermediate tenures has brought the cultivator into direct relationship with the Government. The problems that need attention now are those of large owners, small and middle owners, tenants-at-will and landless workers.

Large Land Owners and Ceilings on Holdings

34. "The growth of population and repeated sub-division have led to a system of distribution of land in which large estates are an exception and the vast majority of holdings are relatively small in size..... The general picture is one of numerous small holdings, a large proportion of them being uneconomic, a small number of middle peasants and a sprinkling of substantial owners. If it were the sole object of Policy to reduce the holdings of the large owners with a view to providing for the landless or for increasing the farms of those who now have uneconomic fragments, the facts at present available suggest that these aims are not likely to be achieved in any substantial measure."* The principle of an upper limit for land holding must, therefore, be considered in relation to the general economic pattern of the country as a whole rather than in relation to the possible use that could be made of land in excess of any ceiling limit that may be fixed. Some representatives have urged that it would be invidious to fix the ceilings on land-holdings, while no such principle has yet been thought of in the case of other sectors of the country's economy. They argue that such a course will damage the even development of agricultural production and divert enterprising persons to more lucrative fields of trade, such as commerce and industry. We are of the opinion that though the fixing of a ceiling limit on large agricultural holdings is a desirable reform, such steps should be followed almost immediately by placing limits on incomes from other fields of national economy. Only then would it be possible to create a psychological satisfaction among those who are required to surrender their property for the common good. Fixing a ceiling on land-holding is necessary as a social principle to remove the existing inequality of cultivators' holdings in the countryside. In applying this principle care should be taken to work out different ceiling for different types of land. What would be a desirable limit for land planted to food crops, might not be at all suitable for land where plantation crops are grown on a large and scientific scale. It is necessary to take into consideration the types of land, the rainfall in that area, the type of crops grown, the pressure of population, etc., in determining the ceilings.

Distribution of Land

35. The excess land resumed after fixing the ceilings on holdings is not easy to distribute under the conditions at present prevailing in the villages. There are numerous claimants to such land. The landless agricultural workers and those cultivating uneconomic holdings alike lay claims to such land. The recent controversy in Bengal as to whether the excess land should be distributed first among the cultivators of uneconomic holdings, brings out the acuteness of the problem. Orthodox agricultural economists are in favour of creating economic holdings by adding more land to the small holdings, while Bhoodan workers are in favour of distributing equal holdings among the landless agricultural workers. The peasant is deeply attached to the land, however small the holding may be. Ownership of land has always given him a status of dignity in the rural community and it is, therefore, necessary that the landless should be preferred in granting all available land in the first instance.

*First Five Year Plan, Page 187.

Throughout our visit to the States the landless agriculturists demanded the distribution of available land to improve their economic condition. It was complained that there was no uniform policy adopted by the States even in granting available Government land. It was stated that the more vocal and influential invariably got the land while the weaker sections were neglected. It is necessary that the existing land revenue rules regarding disposal of Government lands should be amended so that the land in a village is first distributed to all the landless, *pro rata* and the excess, if any, to those who own uneconomic holdings. Any infringement of this rule should be severely dealt with by the State authorities. During our tour we found that land is not available in sufficient quantities in all the villages and that the landless are not willing to migrate to localities where land is available. State Governments must create incentive for the landless to go to those areas where land is available, and measures should be taken for their settlement in such areas.

In Uttar Pradesh, petitions were made to us that after the abolition of zamindari, land vested in the Panchayats and such lands were not made available to the extremely poor communities.

The fear is that these village Panchayats being practically in the hands of dominant communities, feudal forces came into play and the extremely poor are neglected.

The same conditions perhaps obtain in some other States also. We recommend that a proper investigation of the problem be made and as a rule, after abolition of zamindari, land should vest in the hands of the State, and its distribution should be left in the hands of Government Officers, who should be instructed to pursue the Government policy of helping the landless agriculturists first and foremost.

Small and Middle Owners

36. A good many communities of the backward classes are drawn from the class of small and middle land-owners. These two groups include many who have small, uneconomic holdings which are also seriously fragmented. These holdings are scattered and make cultivation difficult. The general aim should be to bring about consolidation of holdings. The experience of consolidation of holdings in Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay has established the value of this measure for small and middle owners, and fragmentation beyond a certain limit should be prohibited by law.

37. *Regulation of Tenancy Rights*—In the case of large holders who are not engaged in personal cultivation but who have leased out their lands, it is necessary to protect the tenants from arbitrary eviction and from the levy of unreasonable rent. A limit on the amount of land to be resumed by the owners for personal cultivation is necessary in all cases where ceilings on holdings are not fixed. Otherwise there will be the problem of unemployed evicted tenants. In cases where ceilings are fixed, the tenants should be given the option to acquire the excess land by payment of a suitable price in easy instalments. The quantum of rent to be fixed and the security of tenancy should be determined in relation to local conditions. Legislative measures in this behalf should not unnecessarily disturb the local atmosphere or create unnecessary bitterness and litigation.

38. There are a large number of cases all over the country where even the small and middle owners have leased out their holdings, or a part thereof. These cases should not be treated on a par with those of absentee landlords. In such cases, domestic causes or the temporary absence of owners from their villages have made the leasing of holdings inevitable. Confirmation of permanent tenancy rights in such cases would work as a great hardship on owners wanting to resume land for personal cultivation. The tenancy rights in such cases should be for a period of 5 to 10 years and it must always be open to the owner to resume the land without difficulty at the end of the period. The relationship between such owners and tenants could be regulated by simple laws.

Record of Rights

39. It may not be practicable to socialise land for some years to come. Peasant-proprietorship, however small the holding, will for some years be the pattern in most rural areas. In view of the attachment of the peasant to the land, it is necessary in the meantime that the rights of all interests in land be correctly recorded and maintained. This would serve as a safeguard against unnecessary litigation and exploitation of the ignorant peasantry.

Agricultural Class Structure

40. According to 1951 Census: "Of the 545 lakhs of cultivators, owner-cultivators number 457 lakhs, and tenant-cultivators 88 lakhs. The preponderance of owner-cultivators is the most important and characteristic feature of our agricultural class-structure. The cultivating labourers number approximately 149 lakhs. These agricultural classes have to support a number of non-earning dependants. The total number of owner-cultivators, tenant-cultivators and cultivating labourers are 16.7 crores, 3.1 crores, and 4.4 crores respectively. On the other hand, non-cultivating owners and rent-receivers number only 5.3 lakhs." Though the owner cultivators form the bulk of the agricultural population the per capita holding is less than an acre. According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, 70 per cent of the holdings are below the average size of 7.5 acres. In almost all cases the holdings are scattered and present insuperable difficulties to proper agricultural development. The vagaries of rainfall and the frequent occurrence of floods and droughts in various parts of the country render the prospects of cultivation precarious. Lack of an assured water-supply by a net-work of irrigation works, renders intensive cultivation difficult. The agricultural practices pursued by the cultivators are still largely primitive, and the agricultural implements and equipment used in cultivation are far from efficient. It is therefore evident that the economic conditions of the communities engaged in agriculture are far from satisfactory and a large majority of them have necessarily to live below subsistence level. Growth of population, and decay of cottage and rural industries have aggravated the poverty and misery of the rural population. It is no wonder that these people frequently run into debts and lead a precarious existence. Their position is such that they are inevitably the helpless victims of exploitation.

41. The amelioration of the condition of communities engaged in agriculture and subsidiary occupations in rural areas is indeed a difficult problem. They need State help in abundant measure,

not only to improve the agriculture which is their mainstay, but to bring about general improvement in their living condition. The Planning Commission has recommended the adoption of the co-operative principle for re-organizing rural life. But it is seen from the Report of the All India Rural Credit Survey that even co-operatives in rural areas have become instruments of exploitation in the hands of upper castes. It is, therefore, necessary to remove all forms of exploitation from rural life and establish co-operatives on a planned basis—both functional and regional—manned by the proper type of person who would work devotedly for the betterment of the rural people.

Rural Credit and Marketing

42. The Planning Commission has dealt with other problems of agricultural development and it is not necessary for us to refer to each one of them. However, we lay a great emphasis on the urgent need for creating rural credit and marketing facilities, the absence of both of which on an adequate scale are hindering agricultural progress. The Report of the Committee of Direction on the All India Rural Credit Survey recently published, deals with these problems exhaustively. The Committee estimate that the combined contribution of the Government and the co-operatives is about 6 per cent of the total, (each accounting for about 3 per cent) credit supplied to agriculturists, commercial banks contributing only 1 per cent. "The private money-lender thus dominates the scene, the professional money-lender with about 45 per cent and the agriculturist money-lender with nearly 25 per cent of the total credit made available."

They, therefore, recommend an integrated scheme of rural credit with State partnership. The main parts of the scheme are three, each related to and dependent on the other two..... "The first is the credit and monetary part designed (i) to make credit available to the rural producer, where it is not now available, or is only inadequately available, and to do this through his own association with himself and the State, i.e., by an institutional system of State partnered co-operative credit which the State Governments are to promote with the active assistance of the Reserve Bank; and as a necessary and precedent condition in many cases, (ii) to make banking and remittance facilities available to co-operative credit institutions, existing or intended, especially in those areas in which such facilities are now scarce or non-existent, and thus through the agency of the State Bank of India, working in close association with the Reserve Bank, assist in rectifying conditions which are of grave disadvantage to the rural producer of those areas."

"The second of the main parts of the integrated scheme is the promotion by State Governments of the development, on a co-operative basis, of certain economic activities essential to the rural producer, such as marketing and processing, and the parallel promotion by all India and State organizations of the development of storage and warehousing of agricultural commodities together with distribution of goods and implements of importance to the cultivator as producer and consumer. At the all India level of planning and finance, both these lines of development converge in the national Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board.

"The third main part of the scheme is that which is concerned with the provision of trained personnel for these tasks of re-organization and development even as the other two are designed, each in its own sphere, to furnish the framework of organization and generate the forces of development, i.e., development of co-operative credit and development of co-operative economic activity. For this important task of training the workers, official and non-official, in the needed way and in the needed numbers, the responsibility, as we see it, will be vested at the all India level in the Central Committee for Co-operative Training, strengthened we hope by the participation and support of a select, informed and purposive body of non-official co-operators, into which the All India Co-operative Union has today the unique opportunity of converting itself by taking the appropriate decisions. From the Central Committee, the channels of action will then be official and non-official, in close intersection, the former aligned to State Governments, the latter to co-operative institutes and associations.

"The three main sectors of the integrated system of development, then, are co-operative credit, co-operative economic activity (especially processing and marketing) and co-operative personnel. In the first, the Reserve Bank will occupy the most strategic position; in the other two, it will be among the principal participants; and, for all three, much will have to be expected of it by way of active co-ordination. That is what we mean by the observation that the Reserve Bank's role in the integrated system envisaged by us will be of crucial importance."* They further observe on page 533 that "one of the prior objectives of policy (as explained in Chapter XXX) has to be the creation of conditions in which co-operative and other institutions will function effectively in the interests of rural production and for the benefit of the rural producer, and not as hitherto be largely stultified by the operation of more powerful private interests; for this, the necessary assistance, in the form of finance, technical personnel, etc., and not merely advice, supervision and administration, has to come from the State; hence State partnership in some of the more strategic institutions, co-operative and other, existing or new, is recommended as an important feature of the re-organization that should take place. Institutional development, with the object mentioned and on the basis of State partnership should extend to (i) co-operative credit, (ii) co-operative economic activity especially processing and marketing, (iii) storage and warehousing and (iv) commercial banking as represented by the important sector of State-associated banks. In respect of each of these there should be provision for the supply of trained personnel in needed number and with the requisite outlook."

43. Early implementation of the recommendations contained in the Report of the All India Rural Credit Survey is very essential to strengthen the rural economy so necessary for the prosperity of agricultural communities. The Government of India have accepted the principle of establishing a State Bank and it is hoped that the other recommendations will receive their earnest consideration.

*All India Rural Credit Survey, Chapter 33, pages 393-394.

Rural Indebtedness

44. Agricultural communities habitually run into debt, and more so when adverse seasonal conditions prevail. The assumed prosperity of agriculturists during the war years did not actually improve the economic conditions of a large body of them. For most of them did not belong to the class of surplus landholders. Only a small percentage of substantial landholders, and in particular non-cultivating owners, may have made some profits during the period of boom in agricultural prices. This increased income, however, was offset to a large extent by the corresponding increase in the prices of commodities and articles required by the agriculturists. It is necessary that provision should be made either through Land Mortgage societies or through the proposed State Bank for long-term credit to redeem them from the clutches of unconscionable money-lenders. Relief from usurious rates of interest is also needed. Scaling down of the debts of impecunious cultivators is also desirable.

Marketing Facilities

45. The creation of proper marketing facilities has a significant effect on production and on the welfare of the cultivator. "In the absence of staying power, a large number of small farmers compete with each other and the markets witness conditions of occasional glut and scarcity." The cultivators are exploited by the village money-lender or the *Mandi* merchant in marketing their produce. It is necessary to remove these handicaps by establishing co-operative marketing societies, regulated markets, with warehouse and banking facilities. The Report of the All India Rural Credit Survey contains very valuable suggestions in this connection.

Price Support

46. The conditions of agricultural communities are largely governed by the prices they get for their surplus produce. Even in the case of deficit producers, part of the produce grown must be sold to meet the immediate family requirements. It is, therefore, necessary that they should get reasonable prices for their agricultural produce. During slump years of prices their condition becomes precarious and they run into debt. The question of price support to agricultural produce, in times of falling prices, has not yet been considered on its merits. We understand that this question is engaging the attention of the Union Government. We recommend that minimum fair prices should be guaranteed to the cultivators, both from the point of view of keeping up agricultural production and of the prosperity of the agricultural communities.

Irrigation

47. The Planning Commission observes—"In India nearly four-fifths of the cultivated area is dependent on rainfall which is seldom adequate and timely throughout the whole country. Annual failure of crops in different regions of India is, therefore, a common feature of Indian agriculture. The most effective way of increasing crop production in India is to provide through irrigation an additional source of water-supply to the cultivated land..... Small and medium irrigation works have an important part to play in developing irrigation in the country. They have many obvious advantages. They provide a large amount of dispersed employment. They

involve smaller outlay and can be executed in a comparatively shorter period." A provision of Rs. 30 crores for minor irrigation is made in the First Five Year Plan. The condition of the backward communities engaged in agriculture and other allied occupations cannot be substantially improved unless the present dependence upon uncertain rainfall is removed and an assured water-supply provided. In view of the urgency of this problem, we recommend that greater attention should be paid to the execution of small and medium irrigation works and to provide irrigation from wells and rivers wherever it is not possible to have tanks and anicuts.

Land Tax Policy

48. There is now no uniformity in the matter of taxation or levy of land revenue throughout the States. There have been complaints that the present system of land taxation has not been equitable, and is particularly oppressive in the case of uneconomic holdings. The present system has not been based on the capacity of the cultivator to pay the tax. We recommend that the question of land taxation in its relation to the capacity of the cultivator be thoroughly examined and an equitable system of taxation be evolved.

Rural Savings

49. With the increase in agricultural production and the creation of suitable marketing facilities with fair prices for agricultural produce, there will be scope for effecting savings in rural areas. But increased earnings are likely to be squandered unless the agricultural communities are educated to put something by for the rainy day. There are no organizations at present to collect the small savings of agriculturists and there is, therefore, need for organizing rural savings schemes at village level to promote thrift and economy.

Problem of Special Agricultural Communities of the Backward Classes

50. Among agricultural communities there are some who are exclusively engaged in the cultivation of vegetables, fruits and flowers and in growing betel vines. Such communities are found all over India. The population of these communities is relatively small when compared to those who are engaged in general farming. It is estimated that about 3 million acres of land are under fruit, and about 1 million acres under vegetables which roughly means a little over one per cent of the total cropped area. The fruit cultivation which was once the monopoly of the community engaged in vegetable cultivation has now been taken up by other farmers, but vegetable cultivation is still largely confined to them. Betel vine cultivation is still mainly confined to a single community.

Vegetable and Flower Growers

51. Communities engaged in flowers and vegetable cultivation are known by the names of Tigalars, Vannhikula Kshatriyas, and Agnikula Kshatriyas in the South, and Mali, Phool Mali, Saini, Koeri, etc. in the North. The representatives of these communities pleaded that they have not sufficient lands for cultivation that they are mostly tenants subject to exorbitant rents, and that they are exploited by middle-men in marketing their vegetables and fruits

also complained that enough facilities are not provided for cultivation of vegetables and fruits in and around municipalities where sewage water is available for irrigation. The extent of land under cultivation by each family is very small and is not sufficient to secure an adequate livelihood. The percentage of literacy is generally low among these communities. They demanded increased facilities for their occupation and education facilities for their children. The Planning Commission has indicated the direction in which vegetable cultivation could be improved, but as yet little has actually been done. We recommend that in all the places where these communities are found the following steps should be taken:—

1. Enough land should be made available for growing vegetables and fruits. Suburban belts around large towns should be developed for raising fruit and vegetables by organizing these communities into co-operatives, especially for the supply of improved seeds and for marketing their produce.
2. The exorbitant rents in all cases of tenancies should be scaled down as in the case of other tenancies.
3. Instructions should be given to the young men of these communities on improved methods of fruit and vegetable cultivation.
4. Scholarships should be established for the purpose of training qualified students among them in general horticulture.

52. These communities must be instructed in the art of home canning and preserving of fruit and vegetable on modern lines.

Betel Vine Growing

53. Betel leaf or pan is commonly used on all important occasions in Indian society. It figures prominently on all auspicious occasions both in marriage ceremonies and in the worship of God. Taking pan is popular in India. It is stated that vitamin 'C' in the diet of the rural population mostly comes from 'pan'.

54. Cultivation of the betel vine is mainly confined to one caste which is found in all parts of India. It is known as Barai, Barujibi, Tamboli or Yeletigaliru in different parts of India. The word 'Tamboli' is derived from the word 'Tambul'—the betel leaf. It is cultivated in small patches of land and the community which is engaged in actual cultivation is not very prosperous. Often the land they hold is leased to them under oppressive rents. The cultivators complained that they received no assistance, whatever from Government, either in the form of grants of land or of assistance in eradicating the pests and diseases that attack betel vines. It was stated that no research work has been undertaken in the field.

55. The greatest difficulty that the community of betel vine growers encounter is in the matter of marketing their betel leaves. They are poor and illiterate and have to carry betel leaves to market places away from their villages, and in market centres they are invariably exploited by middlemen. They used to export betel leaves to Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Nepal but that trade has now completely disappeared. They, therefore, asked for proper

marketing facilities so that they could get adequate price for their produce. We, therefore recommend the following measures:—

1. Grant of sufficient and suitable land for raising betel vine to members of this community and reduction of oppressive rents.
2. Establishment of co-operatives to grant medium-term loans for the purchase of agricultural implements and manure and for marketing the betel leaves.
3. Exploration of foreign markets by State for betel leaves.
4. Research work for eradication of pests and diseases and for improving the quality of the vines, and in the nutritional and medicinal value of pan.

Reorganization of Village Economy

56. The First Five Year Plan advocated co-operative farming for the rapid reorganization of village economy. It suggested that small and middle farmers, in particular, should be encouraged and assisted to group themselves voluntarily into co-operative farming societies for the purpose of introducing a scientific form of agriculture and for increased capital investment so that the national agricultural production might be stepped up. It has further said: "While the extension of co-operative farming and co-operative activities generally will do much to develop the social and economic place of the village, and, in particular, will benefit small and middle land-holders, the scope of rural organization has to be conceived in wider terms." For this purpose, they have advocated co-operative village management as the ultimate objective. How far these ideas will take root under an acquisitive society based on an urge for profiteering, it is too early to say. The results of experiments conducted in co-operative farming in some of the States have not so far been very encouraging. If only the sense of possessiveness could be eliminated or subordinated to a larger common purpose, the way might be paved for the successful introduction of the co-operative principle in village management. But it is not possible to ignore the socio-economic structure of present village life. The following extract from the report on the All India Rural Credit Survey sums up the position succinctly: (Page 278).

"In considering the record of the co-operative credit movement in the Indian village, it has accordingly to be remembered that in India, as wholly distinguished from other countries, there has been the unique combination of the following features. (1) a socio-economic structure largely based on caste within the village itself, (2) the linking up of the upper parts of that structure to a cash economy and an administration centralized in the urban sector, and (3) the fact that the linking up took place as the outcome of three processes which historically happened to operate together in India, viz., colonial rule and administration, commercialization of agriculture and urbanization of industry.

"It is within a socio-economic structure so distorted by this combination of events and forces as to present a grave disparity within the village itself and an equally grave disparity between the

village on the one hand and the town and the city on the other, that the co-operative effort to develop credit has hitherto taken place in India. Co-operation had—and has—the great mission of seeking out the greatest common measure, firstly of good in the economic sense and secondly, but not less importantly, of good in the ethical sense in the leadership and following of the Indian village. The task in effect was to combine these two elements of good and to direct the force so generated towards a great endeavour for the common betterment. Perhaps, in this effort, co-operation might have succeeded a little better if it had recruited a band of devoted workers at and from the village level capable of knowing and applying the co-operative technique among their co-equals. Attempts have indeed on occasion been made by co-operative leadership to build up a body of competent co-operative workers from the village upwards. But it was not the fault of the leadership or of the Movement that an approach which had to be at once scientific and missionary, village-minded and country-wide, failed to be adopted on any significant scale. It may be that the time itself was not ripe for such techniques. In any case, for a non-official agency the task was stupendous. For Government, as till recently constituted, the task was impossible. The context has now changed and the time is clearly propitious. This is specially true of the opportunity which now presents itself before Government, of developing co-operative societies or administrative panchayats or other comparable village institutions—in a manner which ensures that those institutions, together with the structure of which they are the base, are so designed in their relation to the internal pattern of village leadership as to be for the advantage of the village as a whole and in particular for the protection and benefit of the weaker elements that so largely inhabit it.” The basic causes hindering the development of the co-operative spirit must be removed before agriculture can be reorganized on the co-operative principle.

57. A few essential steps are necessary to facilitate such a re-organization. They are:

- (1) Prohibition of investment on land as a source of income by persons who are not themselves cultivators or by those who do not reside either in the village in which the land is situated or on the farm.
- (2) Acquisition of land from persons who own the land in a village but who are themselves not agriculturists, and do not reside in the village.
- (3) Restraint on alienation of land in favour of a non-agriculturist.
- (4) Reservation of the required extent of land for grazing purposes and for village plantations.
- (5) Immediate re-distribution of the remaining land among the landless agriculturists in the village in the first instance and among the owners of uneconomic holdings next.
- (6) Consolidation of holdings.
- (7) Bringing into vogue mutual aid among agriculturists in farm operations.
- (8) Organization of multi-purpose co-operative societies for better farming or for distribution of seeds, fertilizers, agricultural equipment for marketing and financing, etc.

Bhoodan Movement

58. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has set in motion a great agrarian revolution in his Bhoodan Movement. He is successfully applying the principle of non-violence for the acquisition and distribution of land among the landless in the country. What began as a modest movement for securing small bits of land from owners, big and small—has assumed vast proportions. His walking tours for gifts of land have awakened the social conscience of the people to such an extent that voluntary gifts of land are offered from all over the country. He has extended the principle of Bhoodan to embrace Sampattidan, Shramadan, and Jeevandan. In essence, he is striving for the establishment of *Sarvodaya* society, based on non-exploitation, and in which all will work for the common good. His movement is creating the necessary psychological climate in the country for the establishment of social ownership of land through voluntary non-violent means.

59. This Commission is mainly concerned with the human factor in all activities whether they are economic or organizational. The Bhoodan Movement has caught this emphasis. It is trying to influence the psychology of the 'Haves' as regards money, power and prestige and to inculcate in them a feeling of social solidarity by asking them to recognize their duty towards the backward people as members of a vast family. His success in the distribution of land amongst the landless, although phenomenal, is the least part of the revolution he is effecting. He is teaching the 'haves' to accept the 'have nots' as on a par with one's blood-brothers. He is, not only removing the backwardness of the 'have nots' but he is also removing the bitterness which the 'have nots' in their desperation are nursing. The 'have nots' can no longer be the orphans of society. For the first time in approximately a thousand years, the poor and the neglected have begun to feel that they have a status in the human family and that they can rely upon the goodwill of society as a whole.

60. The Bhoodan Movement would not succeed unless accompanied by 'Sampattidan', which can secure for the landless the minimum capital necessary for cultivation. 'Shramadan' is equally important because voluntary labour is, perhaps, the most active capital which the nation possesses, and with the availability of this active capital all movements will succeed much faster than by mere organizational reconstruction. This great agrarian revolution is essentially spiritual in its content and the success and security of this movement is dependent upon the fourth factor, viz., Jeevandan. Unless the proper type of social servants come forward in large numbers to serve poor and rich alike, the social revolution cannot be expected to last long. Therefore, Bhoodan, Sampattidan, Shramadan and Jeevandan together constitute an integral whole and there is no movement or activity in India which can compare with this movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The future well-being of society as a whole depends largely on the success of this Movement.

61. We, therefore, recommend both to the Government and to the nation that they should take up the work of Bhoodan Movement and spread it to all nooks and corners of the country. It should not be necessary for Vinobaji to go on foot to all parts of India, and all those who are interested in the future of the backward people should offer their services for his great Bhoodan Movement.

Development of Livestock

62. All the communities engaged in agriculture and allied occupations are also engaged in rearing livestock. With the growth of population and the continued pressure on land from decade to decade, pasture lands have been diverted to cultivation, with the result that communities once engaged solely in the breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, have now taken to mixed farming. We did however, come across some communities in Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh devoted solely to the breeding of cattle and buffaloes in large herds. Similarly, communities of the shepherd class in many States are engaged in rearing large flocks of sheep as the source of their livelihood. Generally, Gujjars in Himachal Pradesh, Ahirs in Rajasthan, Ahirs, Bharavad and Rabaris in Saurashtra own and breed large herds of cattle and buffaloes. Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh, Gadarias of North Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, Dhangars in Bombay and Hyderabad are mainly engaged in sheep breeding. The conditions of livestock breeders are far from satisfactory. Breeders have to move from place to place to graze their herds and flocks and thus lead an almost nomadic life. They are subject to many difficulties and are helpless victims of exploitation in marketing their cattle, dairy products or other produce. The Gujjars of Himachal Pradesh take their large herds of cattle to the plains during the winter season for grazing and during their journey endure many hardships for want of pasture for cattle and shelter for men. The plight of cattle breeders in Saurashtra is equally bad. For most of the year they go to the forest areas for grazing. It was stated that about Rs. 3 crores worth of ghee was annually exported from Saurashtra, but that the cattle breeders were not getting a proper price for their dairy products, and that middlemen exploit them. They also complained of their difficulties in finding proper pasture lands, and veterinary aid for protection of their cattle from various diseases and epidemics.

63. The development of agriculture is bound up with the development of livestock; for bullocks are the principal motive power used almost universally for agricultural operations. According to 1951 Livestock Census there were 150 million cattle and 43 million buffaloes in the country. It was estimated that the gross national income contributed by livestock was about Rs. 1,000 crores a year. Therefore, it is important that the cattle wealth of the country should be improved in the interests of the backward classes. But in India the problem of unserviceable and unproductive cattle is great and presents many difficulties in view of the sociological factors involved. The overall estimates made by the Cattle Utilization Committee showed that about 10 per cent of the cattle population or roughly 11.4 million adults were unserviceable and unproductive. It was also estimated that the existing fodder and food resources can maintain in a fair condition only about 2/3rds of the cattle population. And since destruction of cattle on a large-scale is not to be contemplated in our country, there must be a planned programme for the segregation of all useless and decrepit cattle and Gosadans established for their upkeep. The cost of maintenance of such cattle is undoubtedly large, but must be faced.

64. It is recognized that there is great need of improving not only the breed of cattle but also the milk-yielding qualities of the

cows. In addition to establishing cattle-breeding stations for known breeds, all encouragement should be given to the local breeders to improve their stock. It is equally necessary to conserve the existing pasture in the interest of village cattle welfare.

65. Cattle in India are subject to periodical diseases and epidemics, and veterinary aid has not been sufficient to tackle the problem on any adequate scale. The Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) had proposed the establishment of one veterinary institution for every 25,000 head of cattle but that goal has yet to be reached. The recent introduction of the key-village scheme is proving of great benefit both in upgrading cattle and in controlling diseases. Arrangements should also be made on a large-scale for the castration of useless and scrub bulls to prevent deterioration in the quality of cattle.

Dairying

66. Small-scale dairying is a general feature in the villages and it brings in a subsidiary income to agriculturists. Though India has a large cattle-population, yet the per capita consumption of milk works out at 5.5 oz.—the lowest in the world. Consumption of milk and milk products varies considerably in different parts of the country. It is as high as 16.89 oz. in the Punjab while it is only 2.64 oz. in Orissa. The average yield of milk per cow in India is 413 lbs. per year. There are no large-scale producers of milk except in a few cases. The small producers of milk are often exploited by middlemen when marketing their milk and milk products.

67. Most of these milk producers need both monetary help and proper marketing facilities. Efforts are being made in some States to organize co-operative milk unions for the benefit of producers so that they can get a proper price for their milk and purchase their requirements at reasonable prices. Immediate steps in this direction are absolutely essential to improve the conditions of communities engaged in cattle breeding and dairying.

Cattle Insurance

68. Agricultural communities lose their cattle in large numbers during periods of epidemic and often become practically paupers and helpless. They have no other source to depend upon for their livelihood. It is necessary that their interests should be safeguarded through a suitable form of cattle insurance. No attempt has yet been made in this direction. The State Governments must sponsor cattle insurance schemes as early as possible.

Sheep and Wool

69. One community (class of shepherds) is engaged mainly in sheep-breeding. It is known by different names in different parts of the country. The condition of sheep breeders is far from satisfactory. Many of them lead a nomadic life taking their sheep from place to place for grazing. Sheep constitute an important source of wool and meat for the country. It is estimated that there are 39 million sheep in the Indian Union. On an average about 55 million pounds of wool are produced every year and about 31.6 million pounds of wool worth about Rs. 43 crores are exported from India. Rajasthan alone accounts for nearly one-third of the total production and yet the condition of sheep breeders in Rajasthan is far from satisfactory.

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70. There is great scope for the improvement of sheep—both of the wool and mutton types. Besides establishing regional centres for improving the quality of wool by selective breeding and cross-breeding, it is necessary to make available sufficient grazing area to the sheep breeders in several States. What is most needed to improve the economic condition of breeders is to give them organized help to improve the flocks of sheep and to protect them from diseases and epidemics.

Poultry and Bee Keeping

71. Poultry and bee keeping could form an important subsidiary industry for the poorer classes in rural areas. It would be an additional source of income to them. The number of poultry in the country is estimated at 17 million. But the ordinary village fowl is generally undersized and lays only 50 under-sized eggs a year. There is need to introduce new breeds of fowl, such as white Leghorn Rhode-Island Red, etc., to add to the income of the backward communities in the rural areas. The rural population should also be instructed in the art of bee-keeping, and State help extended to popularise bee-keeping in rural areas.

Piggery

72. Communities engaged in pig-rearing are considered low castes. Some of them do not have any fixed place of residence. They move from place to place with their pigs. Their children have practically no education. There is great scope in India for pig-rearing, but the eradication of the stigma attached to pig-rearing is necessary before pig-rearing can become a useful occupation to be undertaken by rural communities. The State Governments should give more facilities to communities engaged in this occupation, and they must be induced to lead a more settled life.

Fisheries

73. A number of communities are engaged both in inland fishing and in sea-fishing. Some of these communities are regarded as untouchables. In addition to fishing, some are also engaged in plying boats or ferries across inland streams or cargo boats along the coastal areas. These fishing communities are poor and illiterate. Their living conditions are extremely unsatisfactory, and they are subject to exploitation by middle men. They lead a very hard and strenuous life.

74. The fisherman is as important as the farmer, cowherd and shepherd, in terms of supply of food to the nation. Fisheries have to be developed to supply adequate food to the masses. We have a long stretch of sea coast and innumerable rivers that supply fish, and we have also a number of fishermen communities throughout the country who are traditionally adept in fishing and in the handling of boats. Those communities must be organized and helped to form multi-purpose co-operative societies. Today for want of capital they cannot build strong boats or big fishing nets. Wherever co-operatives function, fishermen do have strong and powerful nets, and they are able to supply fish to big cities. These fishing communities should be enabled to build or purchase steam launches so that they can convey their catch to the big cities without undue delay. They should be

given facilities for quick and cheap transportation including facilities for preservation of fish during transit.

75. The fishermen co-operatives should also be encouraged to develop the carrying trade along the coast. This would help these enterprising people to rehabilitate themselves. Free India must develop its mercantile navy as fast as possible.

76. The Khalasi communities should be encouraged to join the Indian Navy. Candidates should be selected on their potential efficiency as sailors, and they should be taught both Hindi and English after selection. This little change in the procedure of enlistment would help these backward communities to take their full share in the defence of the long coast of our country. Owing to unpardonable neglect, our fishermen are not able to hold their own even against the competition with the fishermen from Ceylon who are allowed to peach in Indian waters. Fishing in sweet water and sea-water must be developed with full vigour and all the fishermen communities along the coast should be organized to take their natural share in this department of the national existence.

Agricultural Labour

77. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, in his "Local Government in Ancient India" (pp. 37—41; 70—74) has stated that from available evidence there was no class of agricultural labour as such in the rural areas in pre-British India. The system of land tenure appears to be an important factor in the growth of agricultural labour. The decay of cottage and rural industries also contributed its share. The Agricultural Labour Enquiry recently conducted by the Government of India puts the families of agricultural workers at 30.4 per cent of the total number of rural families, 25.8 per cent being casual labourers and 4.6 per cent attached. The percentage of agricultural labour varies from State to State, but is as high as 50.1 per cent in South India.

78. Agricultural workers may be classified broadly into two groups, viz., casual workers and attached workers. The recent enquiry undertaken by the Government of India has disclosed that as many as 89 per cent of the total number are casual workers. The period of unemployment for agricultural workers ranges from 3 to 6 months. "Another class of agricultural labourers consist of those who leave their villages in groups for fairly long terms in search of employment. A large number of them can be seen in the more important cities without practically any shelter. The existence of large numbers of agricultural workers who lack sustained employment and frequently suffer from social handicaps is to be regarded as a source of serious weakness and even of instability in the present agrarian system. With the decline in rural industry, many artisans have become part-time labourers. The increase in fragmentation and sub-division of holdings has driven many peasant farmers to seek casual labour. Reduction in the larger farms which has been in progress in consequence of tenancy legislation leads to a diminution in the amount of higher employment which may be available. Few agricultural workers are dependent on agricultural labour alone; commonly they also combine other casual work with agricultural labour. Generally, agricultural workers have short periods of intensive

employment, for instance at harvest time, sowing season or when cotton is picked. As compared to the farmer, the agricultural workers' problem is perhaps in a larger measure one of unemployment rather than of under-employment but the degree of unemployment depends almost entirely on the character of local agriculture and on the distance from urban centres."*

79. Agricultural labour consists of communities belonging to the backward classes, and a good percentage of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are among them. They form the most vulnerable sections of the population and their conditions of living are far from satisfactory. Though compulsory labour is abolished by law there are still instances where agricultural labour families are attached to farms and continue to serve them for long periods for insufficient remuneration, in discharge of old debts or for money paid in advance.

80. The question of rehabilitation of communities depending on agricultural labour should receive the earnest consideration of Governments—Central and State. Revival of cottage and rural industries would provide employment for considerable portions of artisan labour, and re-organization of agriculture would afford greater scope for employment of these communities. The re-distribution of land among the landless would further improve the economic condition of these classes. Establishment of industries would find employment for a good number of these communities. But all this will take time and meanwhile steps should be taken to prevent the unconscionable exploitation of these helpless classes.

Minimum Wages

81. The practice in the rural areas of payment in kind for service rendered by labour is found to be not very advantageous. A Welfare State will have to accept the responsibility of fixing and from time to time revising the standard of minimum wage and this should apply not only to industrial labour but to agricultural labour also. The next step, after the necessity of cash payment is recognized, is to fix conditions of work and the scale of wages. According to the Fair Wages Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1948, the lower limit of the fair wage must be the minimum wage, the upper limit to be determined by the capacity of the industries to pay. The findings of the Report resulted in the Minimum Wages Act at the Centre with its counterparts in many States. Minimum rates have been fixed in the States of Ajmer, Bhopal, Bihar, Bombay, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh and West Bengal. The Government of India are pressing other State Governments to implement the provisions of the Central Act. The Central Government has fixed minimum wages for workers engaged on road construction, in building operations and in stone-breaking or stone-crushing in various departments and organizations such as Railways, Defence Installations and Ports. They have also fixed minimum wages for workers employed in tanneries, leather factories and other similar industries which affect the labour concerned.

*The First Five Year Plan (page 204).

82. To prevent exploitation of Scheduled Tribes in 'Backward Areas', particularly in the Forest Coupes, Bombay State was the first to fix rates for forest labour. Other States have followed suit. The Minimum Wages Act has been applied so far mostly to industrial labour. Its extension to unorganized labour in rural areas is considered difficult, but we feel that the very difficulty is in itself a sufficient reason for taking early action. We endorse the recommendations of the Planning Commission that "full and effective implementation of the Minimum Wages Legislation should be secured within the First Five Year Plan. The enforcement of minimum wages for agricultural workers in low-wages pockets in the larger farm areas selected for intensive development of agricultural work should receive high priority." These recommendations should be extended to all agricultural and other labour particularly in rural areas. We have indicated the traditional occupation of most of the backward classes which should give an idea of the communities which require early attention.

83. The statutory fixation of minimum wages which is essential, has to be supported by rigorous implementation. The agriculturist employer may find it difficult to increase wages during a period of falling prices, and labour itself may accept lower than the minimum wages due to unemployment. We feel, however, that barring a few exceptional cases, the fixation of the minimum wages is desirable.

84. The conditions of work for factory labour have improved considerably in recent years due to Factory Legislation brought about by pressure from labour Unions—both the factors being helped by the prosperity of the industry.

85. The following figures* show that the agricultural labourer received less than half of what his industrial counterpart gets:—

Annual income per capita in rupees			
	Agricultural labour family 1950-51	Industrial family 1951	Percentage per capita of (1) to (2)
	(1)	(2)	(3)
West Bengal	160	268	59
Bihar	119	332	36
Madhya Pradesh	87	262	33
Orissa	79	245	54
Punjab	121	216	56
Bombay	88	368	24

*N.B.—Dr. Ramamurti's Agricultural Labour, How they work and live. All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, Government of India, May 1954, p. 30.

86. These large differences between the remuneration of the employees in the agricultural and industrial spheres are expressive of the necessity of vigorous action for increasing the minimum wages of agricultural labour. Further, the regularity and continuity as well as protection against retrenchment or reduction in staff, are other advantages which industrial labour has over farm labour. Factory employees are able to secure the facilities recommended by the International Labour Organization. These facilities include:—

- (i) Minimum standards of hygiene and sanitation;
- (ii) Establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in or near the place of work;
- (iii) Education of workers in the use of sanitary and medical facilities;
- (iv) Organization of adult classes to combat illiteracy and development of ability to acquire industrial skill;
- (v) Schools for children;
- (vi) Promotion of training facilities;
- (vii) Responsibilities of provision of proper housing and necessary finance;
- (viii) Arrangements for proper food and nutrition;
- (ix) Creche for children of workers;
- (x) Recreation facilities for utilization of workers' leisure time;
- (xi) Welfare facilities;
- (xii) Health insurance and compensation during illness, and leave on full pay; and
- (xiii) Provision of qualified welfare officers of both sexes.

87. Considering the present state of the country's financial and economic position, it may be difficult to provide these facilities to labour employed in agricultural or village industries. We may not at the present stage, press for all these amenities, but we do hope that the requirements regarding (1) minimum wages, (2) minimum housing, (3) drinking water supply, (4) education, and (5) health facilities will be treated as overdue to the backward classes. We also hope that the Ministry for the Advancement of Backward Classes will secure the co-operation of the Labour Ministry in extending these amenities to agricultural and rural artisan labour.

Development of Industries

88. It is noted in paragraph 16 how unplanned industrialisation, urbanisation, and expansion of commerce during the British rule have tended to disrupt the old village economy and to disorganize rural life. The present misery and backwardness of most of the artisan and occupational classes in rural areas are not a little due to this policy. The Commission has nothing to say about the establishment of heavy industries regarded as essential for strengthening the economy of the country. But it is anxious that the conflicts between heavy industries on the one hand, and cottage and rural industries on the other be removed. It is often stated that since the industrialisation of the country would provide a large volume of employment and absorb surplus working force on an increasing scale, steps should

be taken to industrialise the country as early as possible. This proposition may be partially true. But very large monetary resources are needed to establish industries on a large scale, and even then it may be difficult to provide employment for all the unemployed and underemployed in the country. It is also necessary in establishing industries to avoid the ugly features of industrial life. In view of the under-developed nature of our economy, lack of sufficient capital and trained personnel it will take years before India can be fully industrialised and in the meantime a large part of the population will have to undergo privation and hardship in the hope of the future rewards of industrial life. India is essentially a land of villages and it will continue to remain so for a long time to come. Among other things, this Commission is concerned with the effect of unplanned industrialisation on the lives of the communities who are engaged in cottage and rural industries and other handicrafts. The unrestricted competition by mills and factories have ruined these occupations and have rendered miserable the living conditions of numerous communities and unless the spheres of production of each category of industries are clearly demarcated, establishment of more industries would not be in the interest of such backward communities. It is necessary that while planning for the establishment of industries this factor should be taken into consideration, and conflict between the two classes of industry should be removed. It is equally necessary to avoid the heavy concentration of population around urban areas that results in the growth of undesirable elements of industrial life. It is also essential to disperse industries all over the country according to a plan. With greater power production, such a plan of dispersal will become more feasible.

89. At present communities belonging to the backward classes are employed only as unskilled labour in these industries. The supervisory and administrative posts of almost all the industrial establishments have been manned by persons belonging to advanced communities. Many representatives of the backward classes demanded representation in the higher ranks of services in the industries on the same principle which is being applied in Indianising the personnel engaged in establishments wholly run by foreigners. The principle of recruiting and training suitable men from backward communities to the higher ranks of service at least in Government-controlled industries should be conceded. Many labour leaders who met the Commission complained that labour in the existing industrial establishments had no chance of rising to higher cadres for want of adequate facilities for short-term training courses in those industries. Introduction of training courses in industrial establishments will equip labourers to become better workmen and hence will increase efficiency in industrial establishments.

Rural and Cottage Industries

90. The Commission found the conditions of committees engaged in village and cottage industries and other handicrafts heart-rending. These people have either lost their occupations altogether, or have found only partial employment. A considerable number of them have taken either to agriculture or to casual manual labour. Some of them have migrated to towns in search of employment and are undergoing hardships and privations. Some of them have either lost or are losing

the hereditary skill handed down from generation to generation. The sub-human level of living of some of these communities can better be imagined than described. During times of unemployment, they have either to depend on dole from Government or to resort to begging. A comparable situation was witnessed in parts of South India during the crisis in the handloom industry. Everywhere the complaint heard was that the mill and factory production killed their traditional occupation, and they asked for immediate protection from ruthless and unfair competition. They did not dare to demand the closing down of mills or factories; they only wanted the reservation of certain sectors of production exclusively for cottage and village industries in order to prevent unhealthy competition.

91. We found that on the question of the resuscitation of cottage and village industries, there was a conflict of opinion between the policy-makers and those entrusted with the implementation of policies. We observed that some of the permanent servants in the Industries Departments of several State Governments did not appear to have much faith in the survival capacity of cottage and rural industries, and other handicrafts. Their interest was at best lukewarm. So long as such an atmosphere prevails, one cannot expect sustained efforts on the part of officials in giving all-out help to the backward classes engaged in cottage industries. Another factor which contributes to the present apathy of permanent servants is the fact that the supervisory, administrative and technical staffs employed in the industries departments are almost all drawn from the classes who have never had anything to do directly with artisan and occupational classes.

92. The policy of giving subsidies to sustain these industries is at best only a palliative and is not conducive to a natural growth. The only feasible course would be to remove all factors hindering natural development of these industries and to recreate favourable conditions in which these industries could flourish spontaneously. In India we are not dealing with people who are totally untrained for any occupation. We are really dealing with crores of people the traditional experience and skill of whose ancestors were once the pride of India. Creation of favourable atmosphere for these artisan and occupational classes to ply their trade is all that is needed. They, by their own exertions, will not only find employment but will try to improve their conditions. With Government assistance and help it will become easier for them not only to improve the technique of production but to organize themselves on modern lines and thus effect desirable improvements in these industries.

93. The Commission is interested mainly in the scheme for securing both full employment and a decent standard of living for the masses. The various traditional and domestic industries and handicrafts had therefore been the mainstay of communities who have now joined the unfortunate ranks of the backward classes. Nothing should be done to rob them of their traditional mainstay. Production of more wealth, is no doubt, absolutely necessary for the well-being of the nation, but continuity of employment must also be the first charge on the nation and that can best be ensured by helping the traditional occupations that for generations have sustained the lives of crores of people.

94. The Government cannot afford to neglect the small scale rural and urban industries. Industries connected with the universal needs of food, clothing and shelter can alone provide maximum employment, and therefore in such industries priority should be reserved for traditional and rural occupations. It is proper and advisable to suggest technical improvements in processing, organization, marketing and distribution, but greed for larger profits through mechanization and the establishment of big industries should not be permitted to destroy the small rural industries. The great merit of these domestic and rural industries and handicrafts is that they preserve the family pattern and prevent migration of rural populations to urban areas. The indigenous population is thus not cut off from its natural moorings.

95. The cultural development of a large section of the population depends largely upon the skill developed while pursuing these domestic handicrafts. No formal education can ever be an adequate substitute for the education and culture derived through these crafts. People engaged in domestic handicrafts usually cultivate the psychology of peaceful life as against that of cut-throat competition, predatoriness and strife. This rural type of life dispenses, to a large extent, with the money nexus and thus helps the bulk of the population to lead a life of contentment and culture.

96. Once the age-old village industries are revived and given proper protection, any utilization of improved technique becomes only a question of time, capacity and organization. Proper marketing facilities throughout the country will secure fair prices for these products. Gandhiji focussed the attention of the nation upon the dire need for revitalising cottage and rural industries. He also saw the danger of the country's wealth being drained by the importing of foreign goods which could conveniently be produced at home. That was why he made the revival of rural industries the main plank of his constructive programme.

97. The Planning Commission have stressed the importance of village and small-scale industries in the First Five Year Plan. They state:—

“Village industries have a central place in rural development programme. Diminishing opportunities for gainful employment account to some extent for the reduction in the standard of life of some sections of the rural population. Products of large-scale industries have increasingly limited the market for the products of several classes of artisans. Their occupations now give them only partial employment, so that they tend to join the ranks of agricultural workers. Development outside the rural sector has not been rapid enough to arrest the increasing pressure of population on the land. The development of village industries, should, therefore, be as much a matter of State action as the increase of agricultural production. Indeed, one cannot be separated from the other, for, increase in agricultural production presupposes fuller utilization of the available man-power and release of surplus workers for other occupations. Village industries, therefore, call for

programmes which will develop a great deal of local initiative and co-operation, and an economic environment in which they have a reasonable chance of succeeding. If the measures to be undertaken are to be effective in dealing with so difficult a problem, it is essential that they should be commensurate with its size and importance..... We may refer here also to rural arts and crafts which have both social and economic significance. Village printing, embroidery, and pottery and the crafts of tribal people, for instance, have not only a long tradition but have also been essential elements in the organic unity and the culture of the village. In any programme for the revival of the village industries, these crafts which have suffered much from the economic development of the past two decades, will deserve special attention."

While the significance and importance of cottage and rural industries in the resuscitation of our economy is recognized, yet, the policy of giving practical shape to the ideal has been very halting. The misery resulting from unemployment and under-employment of the backward communities engaged in cottage and rural industries has not been fully appreciated.

98. While the magnitude of the problem of unemployment and under-employment is recognized by our policy-makers, it is distressing to notice that they seem to concentrate their attention mainly on the employment of the educated middle-class. The colossal problem of unemployment and under-employment of the artisan and occupational communities, who ought to be our main concern, receives only a casual reference, and very little attention.

99. In this connection, the words of Shri C. D. Deshmukh in his speech on Government Economic Policy are worth noting. "In spite of all that had been achieved the problem of unemployment still remains. The problem could not be tackled successfully without a significant increase in the rate of investment. The central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions within a measurable period, say, ten years from now. This means that we have to create at least 2 million new jobs, if not more, every year. These jobs must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." Shri Deshmukh estimated that the total investment in the economy would have to be on the order of Rs. 1,000 crores a year, if we have to create 12 million new jobs within the next five years. An investment of Rs. 1,000 crores a year meant 10 per cent of the national income. He was, therefore, of opinion that *"in future Plans, special attention would have to be paid to small-scale industries, bearing in mind our paucity of capital or our abundance of man-power."* (Italics ours).

100. On the other hand, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, in a recent broadcast speech, dealing with the problem of total unemployment and underemployment in the country stated that an investment in the order of Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 crores would be needed to tackle this colossal problem.

101. It is, therefore, clear that an enormous amount of money is needed to tackle the problem of total unemployment in the country,

if we are to go by orthodox standards. Economic planning in under-developed countries like India with a vast unemployed labour force having hereditary tradition and skill for cottage and village industries cannot depend solely on monetary resources but must have a different orientation. A great deal of rethinking has become necessary. Our main task is to organize and utilize the available manpower in the nation. It is often forgotten that we have a large manpower already conversant with hereditary occupations and in most cases possessing more than average skill and capacity for production of useful articles—provided proper conditions are created. Removal or control of factors that are operating against the successful rehabilitation of cottage and rural industries and domestic handicrafts will immediately provide vast scope for employment and removal of human misery. Such a revival of traditional skill will mean resuscitation of culture and self-respect. Additional employment can also be found by establishing new small-scale industries not in competition with, but complementary to, the old village industries. These measures will not only rehabilitate rural life but will check the depopulation of rural areas which has been going on continuously for several decades.

102. In recent debates on economic policy, our Parliament has accepted the socialistic pattern of society for India, and we feel that a socialistic economy must inevitably mean a decentralised economy. In any plan for resuscitation of rural and cottage industries, the most vital condition, let us repeat, is to remove the existing unhealthy competition between large-scale and small-scale industries by clearly demarcating their respective fields of production.

103. We recognize that it may not be possible to revive all the varied types of cottage and village industries in present-day conditions. But a large number of them which have a definite survival and cultural value can and must be protected and improved. The emphasis hereafter should be on providing employment for those artisan and occupational classes who are backward and who are now leading a sub-human existence owing to the loss of their traditional occupations.

104. The Planning Commission has dealt with the development of cottage and rural industries somewhat in greater detail. We refer to some of their reports in the following paragraphs mainly from the point of view of affording employment to backward communities for the purpose of improving their economic condition.

Spinning and Weaving (Khadi Industry)

105. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving have been India's traditional village industry. It is on record that this industry has been in existence for over 2,000 years, and every process, from the picking of raw cotton to the turning out of the finished fabrics, was done by hand. The count of yarn and the quality of cloth produced was once the wonder of the world. "The story of the deterioration, decay and total extermination of so universal an industry in Indian villages is written in blood and tears". It was Gandhiji who rediscovered the spinning wheel and khadi for the economic rehabilitation of rural India, and made it the central feature of his constructive activities.

It started as a part of the Congress movement and with the rising tide of nationalism, khadi gained an importance. The All India Spinners Association was set up to develop and propagate khadi in the country. It is stated that in the year 1941-42 there were 3,25,000 part-time spinners, 25,000 weavers and 5,000 other artisans employed in khadi industry. The total production of khadi in 1943 was worth Rs. 1,35,97,000. (All India Khadi Board).

106. The employment potential of this industry is indeed great but there are many people who are highly sceptical of the economic usefulness of khadi. But the part-time and full employment this industry gives to lakhs of villagers and in particular to the poorer sections of the backward classes should be an effective answer to such people. The State has shown its interest in the development of the khadi industry and has accorded it a prominent place in the first Five Year Plan. The Government of India constituted the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board in 1953, with Shri V. L. Mehta as Chairman, for preparing and organizing programmes for the production and development of khadi and village industries. But what place khadi will have in the economy of free India will ultimately depend on the type of democracy and social structure the people will work for. Subsidising of the khadi industry is not enough. What was accepted as the "livery of freedom" during the period of our national struggle, must, under freedom be the uniform of the State. Without State patronage khadi cannot come to its own. Even organized machine industry in India has to depend on State protection for its existence, and still more so khadi.

There is great scope for the development of the khadi industry, particularly in cotton growing areas of the country and more especially where there are no mills. The need for improvement in the technique of spinning and weaving of khadi is recognized. Improved charkhas and improved looms are being introduced to cut down cost and to step up production. This, it is hoped, will bring increased income to the spinners and weavers and provide employment or partial employment to a large number of villagers.

Handloom Industry

107. After khadi, the next most important cottage industry, and the one that still provides a large volume of employment or partial employment, is the handloom industry. "From times immemorial textiles of a very good quality and a high repute have been manufactured in India. Muslins of Dacca, the Patolas of Baroda and the fabrics of Assam and Manipur, Orissa and South India have been justly famous for ages."

108. The tradition, experience and skill of handloom weavers have been long and distinguished. The Devangas and Kuruhins Chetties of Mysore and Madras, Padmasalis of Hyderabad, Maharashtra and Andhra, Momins of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have been famous as producers of beautiful handloom fabrics. There is still an enormous variety of handloom cloth of distinctive designs of more than ordinary beauty and excellent workmanship produced in India. The counts woven are from the coarsest up to 120.

109. Among the States of India, Assam and Manipur have a strong domestic weaving tradition and most women are adepts in weaving very fine fabrics. It is stated that it would be difficult for a woman in Assam to get married if she does not weave her bridal clothes. Almost every home in Assam has a loom or two and women weave at least part of their own requirements. The handloom industry in Assam is not commercial, being domestic and self-sufficient in character, particularly in the matter of women's clothes. This is also true of Manipur to a large extent.

110. We have looms in India from the almost rudimentary and primitive throw-shuttle and loin types, to the fly shuttle variety with improved equipment. The cost of looms varies from Rs. 5 in Assam to about Rs. 50 for fly shuttle looms in other parts of India. Low capital cost and high employment potential are their chief merits. The preparatory processes give employment to the family of the weaver.

111. The growth of the Indian Mill Industry has inevitably affected the fortunes of handloom weavers. But even now, as the largest cottage industry in India it occupies a place of prominence in the general economy of the country. Production of cloth on handlooms has recently been about 1,200 million yards out of a total production in the country of about 6,200 million yards per annum. In spite of numerous vicissitudes and economic upheavals this industry has shown great vitality, still survives and sustains millions of people.

112. During our tour the plight of the handloom weavers was brought to our notice in all the States. The representatives of weavers narrated their difficulties and poor conditions of living and pleaded for adequate protection against unfair competition from the mills by reserving certain categories of production exclusively for the handlooms, and for financial assistance for organizing themselves into co-operatives. They demanded a network of marketing organizations throughout the country for the sale of their products. The recommendations of the Textile Enquiry Committee, recently appointed by the Government of India, did not have their support. More than spoon-feeding in the form of subsidies or other palliatives they want creation of conditions favourable to the natural growth of the industry itself. They questioned the number of handlooms given by the Textile Enquiry Committee report and stated that the number of handlooms in the country was 28.64 lakhs affording employment both direct and indirect to a population of nearly one crore. The All India Rural Credit Survey Report (on page 116) states that the handloom industry supports 100 lakhs of people including dependents. The rehabilitation of this one industry would ameliorate the conditions of almost a crore of people, about 70 per cent of whom live in rural areas. It would not only add to the production of more wealth in the country but would remove poverty and misery from most of the homes of this crore of people. There is no need to be apprehensive of the future of this industry. If the past is any guide it is certain that this industry will develop rapidly if the competing forces of the mill industry are either removed or effectively controlled and the handloom weavers are allowed to function in a favourable atmosphere. The traditional experience and skill is enough to put them on

their feet almost immediately. Training in improved technique and design and supply of improved equipment may follow up later. There is now no doubt exploitation of the poor weavers for they are too weak and unorganized. There is also sweated labour in the handloom factories run by master weavers. All this has to be remedied. With State aid as envisaged in the Five Year Plan there is a great future for this industry.

113. The problem of the handloom industry is essentially an economic one and a large number of weaver communities are mainly dependent on this industry for their livelihood. Whenever the industry suffers the weavers are put to severe hardship. The well-being of these communities depend on the early rehabilitation of this industry. It is not necessary for us to deal in detail with all the plans proposed for the rehabilitation of this industry. The All India Handloom Board is already taking some steps in this direction. We, however, make the following recommendations:—

1. Clear demarcation of spheres of production exclusively for the handloom should be made with immediate effect. Since the weavers are accustomed to produce varieties of fabrics like Saris, Dhotis and Lungis, all these varieties should be exclusively reserved for the handloom industry. The present partial reservation has not helped the industry to any desirable extent.
2. Regular and adequate supply of yarn of required counts and colours at reasonable prices should be ensured to the handloom weaver.
3. All weavers should be brought into the co-operative fold as soon as possible with a view to protecting them from exploitation by middlemen and master-weavers.
4. A chain of marketing organizations should be formed throughout the country and possibilities should be thoroughly explored for creation of foreign markets for handloom fabrics.
5. After full protection and patronage to khadi only handloom products should be purchased by Governments—Central and State—for their requirements.
6. Financial assistance by State should be provided to weavers for the improvement of their looms for increased production.
7. Weavers are at present living and working in “shocking conditions of congestion”. A planned programme for improving their housing condition and, where necessary, for development of weaver’s Colonies is urgently called for and should be undertaken by Government without any delay.
8. With improvement in the technique of production of the handloom industry and increase in its yardage, the textile mills should be required gradually to confine themselves to the production of fabrics of exporting varieties as well as of luxury fabrics of finest yarn both for export and for internal consumption.

Such graded policy alone will help the weaving communities of the backward classes to shed their backwardness and to take their rightful place in India's march to progress with full confidence.

Special Features of Cotton and Silk Weaving in Assam and Manipur

114. We have already referred to the strong domestic weaving tradition of Assam and Manipur and the non-commercial nature of handloom-weaving in those States. We were informed that the weaving industry there is severely handicapped for want of a regular supply of yarn from the mills. There were complaints that the yarn merchants exploited the weavers. The situation should be remedied quickly and arrangements should be made for the regular supply of yarn plain or coloured of the required counts at reasonable prices. There is a great possibility of making Assam and Manipur completely self-sufficient in cloth. The geography of the States and the weaving tradition in almost every home and the special skill of women in the weaving art are, indeed, favourable factors to make the States self-sufficient in cloth. The first step should be to prohibit the entry of all mill-cloth into these States and to encourage local production on handlooms, by financial assistance and the regular supply of yarn. To this end, the State Governments may give special help to hand spinning and khaddar and also set up a yarn mill with required spindleage. It is stated that there is a great possibility for cotton cultivation in some parts of Assam. If co-ordinated efforts are made, it will perhaps be possible to achieve successful results in this respect. It will provide a large volume of employment to backward communities including a large number of tribals.

Silk Handloom Industry

115. Silk weaving once belonged to certain special communities of weavers, though recently other classes of weavers also have taken to weaving of silk yarn and other artificial fibres. These weavers of silk have attained a high degree of skill in producing artistic designs in cloth. They suffer today from the hard competition of mills. Sudden and sharp fluctuations in the price of silk yarn often throws a good number of them out of employment, and their condition becomes miserable during such periods. There is need for supplying these weavers with silk yarn at reasonable prices. The All-India Handloom Board should draw up programmes for improving the conditions of weavers and in marketing their cloth.

Sericulture

116. Sericulture is one of the successful cottage industries giving subsidiary employment to a large population of agricultural communities. In Mysore about 60,000 agricultural families are reported to be engaged in the cultivation of mulberry and in rearing silk worms. The area under mulberry is stated to be about 1 lakh acres. In West Bengal, about 15,000 acres of land are under mulberry; and about 1,15,000 persons are wholly dependent and about 1,75,000 persons are partly dependent upon this industry. In Madras, the area under mulberry is about 22,000 acres. The industry is on a small scale in Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The annual production of raw silk is estimated to be about 16 lakh pounds in Mysore, about

4 lakh pounds in West Bengal, about 3 lakh pounds in Madhya Pradesh, about 3 lakh pounds in Madras and about 1 lakh pounds in Bihar. About 1,37,000 handlooms are engaged in the production of silk and art silk cloth. Sericulture industry is subject to periodical crises, due to wide and violent fluctuation in the silk yarn markets. The internal production is not yet sufficient to meet the country's demand, and the unregulated imports of raw silk from abroad creates crises in the local industry. The Central Silk Board has recently taken up the question of this industry, and it is hoped that all steps will be taken to place this industry on a stable basis so that India could become not only self-sufficient in the production of silk but also attain the international standard in silk-yarn. Then alone would the industry ensure employment to a large number of persons in their cottages.

Wool Spinning and Weaving Industry

117. India is a large producer of wool, and a great part of the locally produced wool is exported and soft wool for feeding woollen mills is imported.

118. The wool spinning and weaving industry is mainly confined to the community of shepherds who are found all over the country. The industry is still in a primitive stage and very little improvement has been made either in the method of spinning or in the method of weaving woollen blankets. Severe mill competition has been responsible for the decay of this industry. According to the Census Reports, the number of persons engaged in this industry has fallen from decade to decade. Consequently, the condition of spinners and weavers of wool has deteriorated. The programme for development of this industry in the First Five Year Plan is not very encouraging. More adequate steps are needed to improve the conditions of these classes.

119. The non-availability of wool for the handloom weaver throughout the year is a serious handicap. The mill agents and the exporters of wool render it difficult for the spinners and weavers of wool to buy it at reasonable prices. Proper organizations, should be set up, preferably on co-operative lines in suitable places for the purchase and supply of wool to the spinners and weavers. There is also need for the marketing of woollen blankets so that the weavers may get proper prices for their products. It is necessary to improve the technique of softening wool and of production of both woollen yarn and blankets to suit the changing tastes of people. A good amount of woollen cloth could be standardised to supply the needs of Defence forces and hospitals.

Village Oil Industry

120. Village Telis or Oil-pressers are found all over India. The village oil industry is mostly in the hands of the community of Telis. Some among them are considered untouchables in certain States of India. After the advent of the oil mill industry, the condition of Telis has become unsatisfactory. Census Reports indicate that the number of workers engaged in the village oil industry has been falling steadily from decade to decade. The number of persons engaged in village oil industry is reported to have fallen from 5 lakhs in 1921 to

2 lakhs in 1951. A large number of them are either unemployed or have joined the ranks of agricultural labour.

121. India is one of the most important producers of oil seeds, and there has been a significant growth in the cultivation and production of oil seeds in recent years. Yet the tragedy of the situation is that the traditional oil pressers find it difficult to sustain their industry in the face of competition from the oil mill industry. The development of the oil mill industry in recent years has been the main cause for the decay of this vital rural industry. It is estimated that there are about one thousand registered oil mills operating in the country, apart from a large number of unregistered mills. The oil industry has drifted more and more to urban areas, causing unemployment and under-employment among the *telis* in the rural areas. The *telis* have difficulties in procuring oil seeds at reasonable rates, as also in marketing their oil produce, in the face of severe competition from the mills. The crushing capacity of the local *ghanis* is still as high as 11.5 lakh tons as against 22.12 lakh tons of oil seeds pressed by the mills. There is great scope for re-employment of many idle *ghanis* in the rural areas. The argument that the village *ghanis* are inefficient is not valid. On a rough estimate the village *ghanis* yield about 35 per cent of oil while the mills yield about 40 per cent. It is possible to improve the village oil industry by introducing improved *ghanis*. Fresh *ghani*-oil has better food value than the mill-oil. Both from the point of view of employment and of improving the conditions of village *telis*, it is essential to reserve the crushing of edible oil seeds to the village *ghanis*. This industry could be rehabilitated. Initially if the competition is removed and the regular supply of oil seeds ensured, then the *telis* themselves will immediately revive the industry. Then may follow the supply of improved *ghanis* and organization for the supply of oil seeds and for marketing the oil produced by the village oil industry. We endorse the programme framed by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board for the revival of this industry. We would add that immediate steps should be taken to stop the use of machinery for pressing edible oil. The Government may also start refusing further licences to the new oil mills, and later may gradually stop the crushing of edible oil-seeds in the existing mills.

Village Potter

122. The community of village potters have preserved the traditional art of producing not only artistic and elegant earthenware but also articles for the daily use of all the poor and backward communities. The potters are poor, illiterate and very backward. At every stage of production they are harassed and taxed. They are often not allowed to take mud from the tankbeds. At present they find no place in the production of modern ceramic wares. The potters could be encouraged to improve their methods of production by giving them training and better implements.

Bamboo and Cane Workers

123. Certain communities are engaged in the traditional occupation of producing articles out of bamboo and cane. These communities are known by different names in different States, and some of

them are treated as untouchables in some States. These communities generally live in segregated areas in villages or in the vicinity of forests. They are poor and very backward. They live in highly insanitary surroundings and move from place to place. Their main difficulties are lack of raw materials at reasonable prices and proper marketing facilities. They are invariably exploited by middlemen who manage to secure contracts for cutting of bamboo and cane from forests, etc. The poor Buruds are always indebted to these middlemen. In view of the wide variety of bamboo and cane in our country there is unlimited scope for improvement in the production of articles of bamboo and cane to suit modern taste. There is need for proper housing and education of these extremely backward people.

Paddy Husking

124. Hand-pounding of rice is an important village industry. It is stated that 65 per cent of paddy is still locally hand-pounded and husked. It is a source of employment to a large number of agricultural labourers who are partly employed in this industry. It is stated that hand-pounded rice is superior in nutritional content to the milled-rice. There is a danger that the establishment of more rice mills will reduce employment for the poor villagers. It is desirable to eliminate rice mills altogether from rural areas.

Coir Industry

125. The coir industry is still providing a large volume of employment in Travancore-Cochin, but is subject to periodical depression. The recent setting up of a Coir Board is expected to help this industry.

Minor Industries

126. There are a number of communities whose traditional occupation is to prepare leaf-plates, collect lac from forests, etc. These communities are poor and backward. They need special measures for their uplift at the hands of State Governments.

Village Handicrafts

127. A number of village artisans produce many useful articles. Factory products throw them out of employment, causing great misery. There is always a large and popular demand for articles of utility produced by village artisans. They need protection and assistance at the hands of the public and the State. In all proposals regarding the rehabilitation of village artisans, care must be taken to distinguish between artisans who produce rurally useful articles and the makers of fine art products. There are certain communities who are mainly engaged in the production of artistic articles in sandalwood, ivory and in bronze. These works of art cannot be produced on a mass scale. The elite and the rich only can patronise such artisans. With the disappearance of Kings, Maharajas, Nawabs and Zamindars, the old traditional patronage is gone. Once the temples used to patronise the fine arts, but that is no longer the case. These artisan classes should be assisted and encouraged, and national museums of art and art emporia should be established to patronise these artists. These artistic articles also should adorn our Embassies, Parliament and Legislatures. It should be possible to build up a substantial foreign market for such articles.

Bidi Industry

128. The Bidi industry cannot be regarded as socially useful, and yet, it must be recognized that it has a great potentiality for the employment of labour. It has held its own successfully against the most fashionable cigarettes and cigars. It was a wise policy on the part of Government to prevent the manufacture of bidies with machine, because that would have thrown a large number of backward people out of employment. The same policy of protecting hand industries should be consistently followed in similar rural industries. Steps are necessary not only to prevent exploitation but also to organize bidi workers on a co-operative basis.

129. Protection of backward classes from unrestricted competition of the mills and factories, and decentralisation of industries will greatly contribute towards rehabilitation of the backward classes.

Communities whose Traditional Occupation is Personal Service

130. We have so far dealt with the measures for the uplift of communities engaged in agriculture and other allied occupations and also for those engaged in cottage and rural industries and village handicrafts. Besides these, there are other communities whose traditional occupation is to render service to others. They are the washerman, the barber, the kahar or water-carrier and other classes of domestic servants.

131. *Washerman*—The washerman community is known by different names in different States. They are treated as untouchables in some of the north and north-eastern States. The degree of untouchability is not so severe in the South. They are paid in kind for their services in the rural areas all over India, and in the fluctuating conditions of agricultural prices they are often hard-hit. Their living conditions are miserable and they are often subject to ill-treatment by higher castes. Even the payment in kind is not regular. In the urban areas many capitalists are exploiting these people by opening big laundries and rendering many of them unemployed.

132. *Barbers or Nayis*—The conditions of Nayis is not very different from that of the dhobis in the rural areas. They too receive payment in kind for service rendered and are subject to the same irregular payments. There is, however, considerable improvement in their position in the urban areas where their standard of living is a little higher. They have organized themselves into associations and have opened shaving saloons to cater to modern taste. But still a large number of them go from door to door in search of customers. This community has a little better status in the north than in the south. There is hardly any education among them. The representatives of this community complained to the Commission that in some of the north Indian States they are subject to unhealthy social disabilities, viz., shaving of dead bodies and the removal of leaf-plates after caste-dinners.

133. There are also talented vocal and instrumental musicians in this community and they requested that this traditional art should be encouraged.

134. *Water-carriers and other domestic servants*—There are a large number of communities engaged in domestic service. These servants are not only poorly paid but are often thrown out of employment without sufficient cause or even notice. In many cases service is continued from father to son and they are often passed on to other families after marriages between two families. In Rajasthan we came across cases where daughters of domestic servants were passed on to bridegroom families along with the brides. There is practically no education among these communities.

135. *Wandering communities*—There are a large number of small communities who eke out a precarious existence in the country-side. They have no fixed place of residence and they move from place to place in search of food or employment. They often rear pigs and poultry, hunt wild animals to satisfy their hunger, and collect forest produce to make a living. They live in thatched sheds or gunny tents, and more in groups. They believe in witchcraft. Because of the insecurity of their life, some of these communities are given to crime. It should be the special responsibility of Government to give them a settled life.

136. *Traditional beggars*—In a country and under a civilization where the best servants of the public, namely, those who were responsible for maintaining the highest idealism, for centuries past have been expected to live on whatever society gave them and not to work for a livelihood, it is difficult to consider the problem of beggary. The Brahmans have often times been described by western sociologists as an intellectual aristocracy of beggars, the Sanyasis are another instance. A Sanyasi voluntarily went out of the pale of organized society. The Sanyasi was a law unto himself and therefore he renounced all property and possessions. He also renounced all family relationship. Religious traditions and rituals were also given up and he was not to reveal his birth, learning or reputation. He lived on what society gave him. He was not even to expect that food should be cooked for him.

137. The teacher was traditionally a beggar and so was the physician. These servants of society were expected to live on voluntary aims. The same tradition was carried on by Buddhists and Jains.

138. This ancient tradition has dignified a life of mendicancy. The ancient ideal required that only those who accepted selfless service as a life mission were entitled to live on alms. Others who lived on alms were threatened with hell-fire. The popular belief was that whoever is not a religious or social servant, yet lives on alms, will be born an animal in the next life and must (then) serve those whose food he now eats without giving anything in return.

139. This ancient noble tradition was too good to remain unsullied. People who did not want to work for their bread assumed the name of religion and the signs and tokens of a religious order and took to begging.

140. Famines and invasions sometimes created a large band of beggars because they were thrown out of employment by social calamity.

141. Hinduism enjoined feeding the poor as one of the duties of the householder. The same injunction is equally imperative in Islam. India, therefore, contentedly maintained a large army of beggars till at last the institution broke under its own weight. It is difficult now to segregate the tribe of selfless servants who take to mendicancy and the unsocial element, i.e. those too idle to work for themselves.

142. The caste system also must share the responsibility for the hordes of beggars. Some communities claim that beggary is their traditional profession and that they cannot take to any service, occupation or industry without going against the rules of their caste. The whole thing is a welter and legislation will defeat itself if it tries to tackle the problem without a careful study of the whole situation. The problem did arrest the attention of certain saints of old who commanded their disciples to live by some decent and honest profession, not to amass wealth and never to take alms as a remuneration for the religious service they rendered or the spiritual help which they gave to people.

143. Some begging communities, finding their profession not sufficiently lucrative, took to providing entertainment, or sometimes services of questionable nature. Some pass themselves off as fortune tellers; others as acrobats; still others as astrologers. Some sing village songs. All these professions could be dignified into an entertainment class. But for lack of organization and social respect they eke out a precarious existence bordering on beggary. Society has to consider the whole situation and tackle the problem by insisting on certain social standards being accepted universally both by those who accept alms and those who give them.

144. It was once argued that unless you give a decent living to able-bodied persons, you must be prepared to give alms; otherwise people will take to crime and hence beggary was regarded as a form of insurance against crime.

145. What is needed most is that the ideal of self-respect and the concept of the dignity of labour should be instilled into the minds of the people. This can be done only by revising our ideas of charity. People give charity with ill-concealed contempt. They must realize that the giving of charity if accompanied by contempt or disgust is not a religious act at all. It degrades both him who gives and him who receives. No amount of legislation can tackle the problem. It is only by direct inculcation of social ideals that beggary can be effaced and the man-power of India fully utilized.

Measures to Prevent Exploitation of the Backward Classes

146. The great majority of the backward classes are ignorant, illiterate and poor. They are easily exploited by several classes of persons. Not only is their labour exploited but they do not get remunerative prices for what they produce. The trade and commerce of the country is largely in the hands of the advanced classes. Some of them exploit the ignorant peasantry and the poor artisan when they come to market their produce and their products. The money-lender and village officials also exploit this class.

147. Measures to save the backward classes from exploitation are absolutely essential to the improvement of their economic conditions. An evil which has crept into the fabric of rural society for

the last quarter of a century is the tendency to indulge in litigation even on trivial matters. Many communities have ruined themselves in costly litigation and this evil is so widespread that in almost every village there are factions ranged against each other. Early steps are necessary to remove these evils.

148. Another measure of vital importance is the setting up of proper institutes for the distribution of the wealth produced. A chain of suitable co-operative institutions or Government Stores is badly needed for this purpose. Steps should also be taken to train these communities in running institutions set up for their benefit. In some of the States the exploiting classes have crept into the co-operatives and are working for their downfall. Such attempts should be prevented to ensure the abiding interest of backward class communities in the future of co-operatives.

149. The ultimate solution seems to be that all production and distribution should be on a socialistic basis and that people should be encouraged to establish the necessary moral basis and to train themselves for the change over.

C. COMMUNICATIONS

150. India is a land of vast distances and unless all kinds of communications are developed it will not be possible to remove either the backwardness of areas cut off from urban centres or of the people inhabiting these areas.

151. There are large areas which are not easily accessible. There the situation becomes more difficult during the rainy season when even the footpaths become impassable. There are areas where it is difficult to ford river streams and nallas. In many localities the old type of country craft is still used for crossing rivers and streams.

152. The maintenance of Law and Order also becomes difficult at times for want of proper communications.

153. The hilly areas of northern Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh cannot be developed for lack of communication. Large rural areas of Rajasthan, Orissa, Vindhya Pradesh, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra and Andhra have remained backward for want of adequate communications. There is, therefore, urgent need for the development of approach roads, village roads and National Highways.

154. The provision made in the Five Year Plan for development of roads, bridges and causeways is altogether inadequate. There is great need for roads connecting villages with each other and with towns and cities or marketing centres.

155. India has neglected her waterways and modern means of water transport. There are at least a dozen communities who are engaged in plying boats to carry passengers and merchandise. With the establishment of road and rail communications the condition of these communities has deteriorated. Effective steps should be taken to find alternative employment for these communities.

D. PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL WATER SUPPLY

156. Backward class communities generally live in insanitary conditions and in ill-ventilated houses. The residential localities of these communities are often segregated. Ideas of sanitation and public health among them are still primitive. During periods of illness or epidemics many of these communities resort to witch-craft rather than to public health measures. It is no wonder that quacks exploit the ignorance of rural communities.

157. Dysentery, malaria, hookworm, guinea-worm, tuberculosis and seasonal epidemics still take a heavy toll of these communities. The Five* Year Plan has rightly emphasised the importance of health as a National asset.

158. "Health is fundamental to national progress in any sphere. In terms of resources for economic development, nothing can be considered of higher importance than the health of the people which is a measure of their energy and capacity as well as the potential of man hours for productive work in relation to the total number of persons maintained by the nation. For efficiency of industry and agriculture, the health of the worker is an essential consideration."

159. Great efforts have been made and are being made for improving the health of the country. Considering the vastness of the country the present measures are not commensurate with the requirements of the rural areas. Large-scale preventive measures and education are necessary to improve the health of the people. For a radical improvement in the situation, it is absolutely essential that the rural public should be educated in the necessity of maintaining sanitary conditions.

160. Generally people living in cities or towns have no idea of the great hardships the rural population has to undergo on account of the inadequate supply of good drinking water. It has been found that in certain areas the water which the people drink is not at all safe. Shri Rajagopalachari once said almost in despair; "I shall be satisfied if I am able to do nothing else but supply pure and sufficient drinking water to the people of the villages." This expression of a seasoned social worker and administrator ought to set everyone thinking about the gravity of the situation.

161. The conditions in scarcity areas like Rajasthan and Rayalseema are most distressing, and yet, as if to compete with and aggravate the cruelty of nature, man has invented untouchability and prevents some human beings from even approaching the sources of water. The poor untouchables are often obliged to beg for a potful of water for hours together before their thirst can be quenched.

162. Public wells and reservoirs must be built within easy reach of the Harijan quarters for the use of the whole area. They should be maintained in sanitary condition under the supervision of a village water committee with a Harijan president.

E. RURAL HOUSING

163. The housing conditions of many of the communities belonging to the Other Backward Class group are far from satisfactory. They live in ill-ventilated mud houses or thatched sheds. The surroundings of these residential localities are also insanitary. Traditional apathy and ignorance have also been responsible for rendering these areas more insanitary. Filth, dirt, and rank vegetation found in these localities are not regularly removed.

164. The Commission had the opportunity of visiting the residential areas of these communities in many of the States and were struck with the appalling conditions of living. There was a great deal of overcrowding in the houses. Most of the representatives of such communities complained that they had no proper sites or financial aid to construct proper houses.

165. The problem of providing housing facilities for the poorer sections of communities from the Other Backward Classes is colossal. But the problem has to be faced boldly and measures must be undertaken to provide proper housing. A planned programme of rural housing should be drawn up, making adequate provision for village layouts in proper surroundings. The sites must be made available to the people either free or at nominal rates. Financial assistance either in the form of subsidies or loans must also be made available to help them construct cheap houses. The most feasible course would be to organise housing co-operatives for the benefit of these communities and make available State aid through these institutions.

F. SOCIAL BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR ITS REMOVAL

166. The origin and evolution of caste in relation to the Hindu social order has already been discussed in a previous chapter. How far the corroding effects of caste have devitalised Hindu society, resulting in untouchability and an unfortunate gradation of the social hierarchy, have also been noticed. The spirit of caste has prevailed in various degrees in different parts of the country. While untouchability and the keeping of social distances even within the four-fold order prevailed in rigid and intense form in the South and in particular in Travancore-Cochin and Malabar, the same rigidity did not prevail or at least to the same extent, in the North. Taboos on food and drink are observed everywhere but more rigidly in the South. The higher castes in the North accept water and *pucca* food at the hands of certain lower castes within the four-fold order of Hindu society, while they do not accept the same from others. This was markedly noticeable in Northern India where some of the other Navashakhi castes were considered 'Jalacharniya'.

167. Modern conditions, no doubt, are gradually toning down some of these rigid caste ideas but the spirit of caste still permeates the major ranks of our society. It is a very discouraging feature that the lower ranks who suffered so much from the iniquities of caste still cling to the system. The work of social reformers of the past, and the heroic efforts of Gandhiji in our own times have had a wholesome influence, but these have not sufficiently penetrated the entire social structure. The leaders of society stated before the Commission that the undesirable features of the Hindu social system must go and that

sustained efforts must be made to eradicate casteism as speedily as possible in order to fuse the different castes into one homogeneous society.

168. The Commission observed that the rigours of the caste system prevail in rural areas and that untouchability in a pronounced form is still practised there. This has led to the formation of caste groups or combines with a view to securing redress of their grievances and to having a place in the political and other spheres of activity. Some representatives of the backward classes pleaded that this trend though unhealthy, is inevitable in the prevailing atmosphere of caste prejudice. They cited instances of ill-treatment and social discrimination at every step, including in the admission of their boys and girls to educational institutions.

169. It was evident to the Commission that this sense of caste and discrimination based on social inequality is eating into the vitals of the nation. The representatives of the backward classes feel strongly that unless social inequalities are done away with they will never have a fair deal at the hands of the advanced classes. Since India has accepted a secular Constitution, casteism and all that it implies cannot have any place in its affairs. The administrative machinery of Governments—Central and State—should be cleansed completely of the spirit of casteism and its undesirable features. For, it is through this machinery that the policies of Government are implemented. Then only will it be possible to inspire confidence in the backward classes. Any delay or hesitancy in tackling this problem forthwith will have far-reaching effects on the future of society. Delay will lead to the formation of perplexing caste groups or combines each warring against the other for power and place to the detriment of national solidarity. Although Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has been advocating the eradication of casteism unfortunately the Commission did not find the same fervour motivating the actions of many political leaders and other persons now in positions of authority.

170. In condemning the iniquitous features of the caste system it is not suggested that Hinduism should be liquidated. Hinduism could be purified or cleansed of the dross which it has accumulated in the course of centuries and would then emerge as one of the noblest of the world's religions. Hinduism is not a religion in the sense in which Christianity and Islam are. It does not trace its origin to any single Prophet, nor is it wedded to any particular Scripture. It is so broad-based that it has become a family of many creeds, ever growing, ever reforming and ever assimilating new experience and new material. It is not bound by any particular creed or dogma. Belief in a soul, the concept of a Universal Soul and life after death might seem to be the basis of Hindu tradition, but its real basis is the unity and solidarity of all life and a recognition of the gradual evolution of life from a lower to a higher form. Caste was not an essential element of *Hinduism*, but in the course of centuries it came to be the main characteristic of *Hindu life*. Several reforming social groups or sects like the Arya Samajist, the Prarthana Samajist, the Indian Buddhist, the Jains, the Shaivites, the Lingayats, the Vaishnavaits and the Sikhs have all accepted the Hindu tradition. The Hindu is free to accept anything in Hinduism, and free also to reject anything

that does not appeal to him. The spirit of synthesis, assimilation, adjustment and harmony is the chief and essential characteristic of the Hindu tradition. Hinduism has given refuge as often to the atheist as to the orthodox theist. Unfortunately, during the course of centuries much that is undesirable has crept into Hinduism. The caste hierarchy with its repugnant doctrines of high and low, ceremonial purity, taboos on food and drink, is blemish on what is otherwise one of the best religions of the world. Unless the blemish is removed, all that is noble in Hindu religion will be lost to mankind.

171. Hinduism not only has much to give to the rest of the world but it has also much to learn from it. Hinduism must now re-examine itself in the world context and boldly shed all its undesirable features. It must cease to be mediaeval in its concept of life; must refresh itself and take a new form which would liberate the spirit of man and enable him to assimilate the best and the noblest that Hinduism has treasured through the ages. Hinduism of the present differs in many respects from the Vedic Religion. The Puranas mention the essential features of Hinduism and cover all the activities of man. One of the typical features of Hinduism of those days was the prominence of the Brahman class. The Laws of Manu helped to perpetuate the four divisions of the Hindu Social Order. But instead of moving with the times as a progressive force the upper classes gradually became conservative and retrograde. Another typical feature was the contradiction between theory and practice. Perhaps in theory no other religion elevated the concept of the quality of man to such a high philosophical level as the Vedic theory that the individual soul is the manifestation of the One Eternal Soul. Yet in practical life no other religion in the world has been more guilty of maintaining invidious distinctions between man and man, even when belonging to the same religious persuasion. According to its fundamental concept Hinduism bestowed a high place upon the soul as distinguished from the physical body. Yet in actual practice the physical purity of the body became an obsession until it unfortunately became the very foundation of the Hindu religious structure. The inevitable result of this discrepancy between theory and practice was that while the mind of the Hindu was absolutely free, his hands were heavily tied. He could think as he liked, but almost every act of his daily life was prescribed by authority to an extent unknown to any other religion.

172. The Hindu view of life was based on a harmonious pursuit of the four chief conceivable objects of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. It insisted upon a balance of spiritual and temporal pursuits as the best means of attaining happiness. It taught the universal brotherhood of man, or rather the essential unity of mankind as all individual beings were regarded as part of one Eternal Soul.

173. Hinduism is a religion of humanity, and yet disruptive forces have crept into it.

174. *Social Justice*—In mediaeval times the world aimed at efficiency through aggrandizement of power and a workable balance of various social forces. This period was not particularly noted for respecting the human personality. It had no code of Social Justice. It was not opposed to the perpetuation of a social order based on the privileges of the strong, the shrewd, the organised and the cunning. A

handful of communities that had power to rule and intelligence to combine, assumed the leadership of society, and the masses were merely content to give their service loyally in return for security, both internal and external. The minority ruled the majority, and always claimed moral superiority. Religion and mythology were utilised to support the claims of the ruling minority. It may be that for a time the minority maintained high standards of virtue and nobility and displayed extraordinary devotion to social good. But the traditionally upper classes have lost their original moral and organisational superiority. Mankind has progressed and in the context of modern conditions the common man is gradually coming into his own. He has lost all reverence for the upper classes, who in turn have lost their special moral virtues and have indulged in exploitation. The high standards once claimed by them, have disappeared, and have degenerated into privilege and hypocrisy.

175. The Reform Movements of the last half century, the freedom struggle and in particular the heroic efforts of Gandhiji, to remove social inequalities, the sectional movements organised by some of the backward classes in parts of the country, the Poona Pact, the Partition of India and its after-effects, have given a severe jolt to the reactionary traditional forces at work in India. Political unification has undoubtedly been achieved. But that unity can be sustained only by eliminating all fissiparous tendencies.

176. The aim of the Indian Constitution is to secure for all its citizens:

Justice—social, economic and political;

Liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality—of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all;

Fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of the Nation.

177. The Constitution of India thus guarantees to its citizens equality before the law, and freedom from all discrimination on grounds of religion, faith, caste, sex or place of birth. It also makes provision for the advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes, and for promotion of their welfare by securing and protecting a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of national life. It provides also that the ownership and control of the material resources be so distributed as to serve the common good and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and the means of production in the hands of a few to the common detriment of the many. It assures the right to a living wage, a decent standard of life, adequate leisure, and social and cultural opportunities for all. The introduction of Adult Franchise as the Foundation of a truly Democratic Republic is a revolutionary reform, particularly in view of the mass illiteracy and backwardness in India. The franchise has given to the masses a most potent and powerful instrument with which to shape their destiny. The vast numbers that exercised their votes during the last General Election (1952) are indicative of the great awakening that has come over the

masses. It is not possible for any length of time to deny social justice to these classes. They are not prepared to submit any longer to the old order which is already crumbling. There are signs of restlessness permeating the rank and file of the backward communities; some of them are already leading an attack against the traditional leaders of society; in the South some who were once backward have come into power under the new political set-up. Since the backward communities have the additional advantage of numbers, they can retain their newly-won privileged position with greater ease and better effect under a system of adult franchise. The situation must be carefully handled and the new forces must be utilised for the common good. What is needed is not the improvement of a few communities but the uplift of all the backward classes. What the country requires to-day is not that the power of exploitation should change hands but that exploitation itself should go.

178. Now that we are free, we must be able to show that we have the vision and foresight to shed all that is dross, petty, reactionary, antiquated, and anti-progressive in the Hindu social structure. It is equally essential that all sections of Indians, not only the Hindus but the followers of other faiths as well, should come together and work for the consummation of this ideal. It must be clearly recognized, understood, and practised that "religion" should be the private affair of the individual. Orthodoxy and sectarian considerations should not come in the way of the spirit of synthesis. The privileged classes must voluntarily renounce their privileges and their claims to social superiority and must work wholeheartedly for the eradication of social evils. The equality of all human beings must be accepted. A complete revolution in the social outlook of the people is necessary for rendering social justice to all the backward people. There is no longer any need to apportion blame on any community or class for caste-neglect. It is wisdom to see and recognize the ill-effects of the past, and to see that from now on all the backward classes and in particular the weaker sections of them, are given an adequate share of assistance in order that they may rise to a common level as early as possible.

179. The process of equalisation is beset with many hazards. Owing to a variety of causes—both political and social—a crude, narrow and sectarian outlook has dimmed the vision of the people. Poverty, ignorance and illiteracy make the task all the more difficult. Therefore nothing short of a firm determination by the entire nation, and in the fundamental social outlook of the people, can possibly fuse the diverse elements into a homogeneous society.

180. We merely indicate the steps that must be taken for the eradication of social evils. There are two modes of approach to hasten the spirit of synthesis, one by the leaders of public opinion, and in particular by selfless social workers devoted to the cause of social and religious reform, and the other by the Governments—Central and States.

181. Social reform is more effectively brought about by the leaders of public opinion and other social servants, if a spirit of sympathy and understanding permeates all their activities. They should go about the task in a spirit of humility, not with an air of superiority. Age-old prejudices are not easy to overcome. The closest association

among different groups and devoted service alone can bring about proper understanding and the co-operation so necessary in this difficult task. Organisations consisting of persons drawn from different communities and pledged solely to social service must be set up all over the country for this purpose. The members of such organizations must themselves firmly believe in the ideal of equality and work it out in their own lives. By their personal conduct as well as by their work, they must impress on the people the need for eradication of caste prejudices. They must arrange for periodical meetings and distribute literature specially written for this purpose. They must foster cultural activities directed towards this end. They must effectively use the Press, Platform and Radio for the propagation of their ideal. They must encourage and arrange inter-caste dinners, inter-caste marriages and periodical social conferences. It is necessary that they should eschew all party-politics and avoid all steps which may, particularly in the early stages, arouse suspicion among the backward classes and generate sectional conflicts. They should foster enthusiasm and determination to work for the removal of social evils. The need for national solidarity must be prominently placed before the public, presenting social justice as a primary duty. It must be emphasised that the private practice of any religion should not be inconsistent with nor antagonistic to a common social life. The spiritual side of the ideal, which was once the pride of our heritage, should be revived. For achieving the ideal of Sarvodaya for society and socialism for the Government, the following steps are assential:—

1. Suitable changes in the educational system.
2. A new sense of social justice embracing all spheres of human activity.
3. Suitable changes in the concept of private property.
4. Suitable changes in marriage and inheritance laws.

182. During its tour of the States, the Commission visited many social service institutions, some of which are doing good work. The activities of some of them are confined to members of particular communities. Some of the educational hostels are run on communal lines, and it is only recently that there has been a willingness to admit other persons into these institutions. What is perplexing is the fact that even charitable institutions with large monetary trusts are established to serve the interests of particular communities only. Most of the social service organizations are concentrated in the urban areas and only a few, if any, are located in rural areas. A large majority of these institutions are mainly devoted to economic activity. A few of them are serving as rescue homes for unfortunate women, and an asylum for the aged and the disabled. Welfare centres established under the Kasturba Trust are doing unostentatious social work for the good of women and children of all communities in rural areas. There are, however, no institutions devoted solely to the cause of removal of social inequalities or for the promotion of inter-communal harmony or inter-caste marriages. In any case, we were not informed of the existence of such institutions.

183. Governmental measures are equally necessary for the early consummation of a common social ideal and national life. The Government must aid and encourage such of the social organizations as are

dedicated to this cause. They must re-educate their own administrative personnel so that it may function for the promotion of this ideal. Social Welfare Boards recently established by the Government of India on an all-India basis should be advised to widen their scope of activities to include this social ideal.

184. We indicate below, on general lines, the measures that the Governments—Central and State should undertake for the eradication of social evils.

1. A clear enunciation and effective implementation of this policy of social solidarity and national progress.
2. Necessary legislation on marriage and inheritance.
3. Prohibition by law of social disabilities.
4. Arrangements for the production and distribution of literature on social problems.
5. Liberal use of the Press, Films, Platform and Radio for the removal of social evils.
6. Prohibition of all observances tending to promote caste feelings in Governmental activities.
7. Re-organization of the educational system with special emphasis on the dignity of manual labour.
8. Full assistance to promote education as speedily as possible among the backward classes.
9. Adequate representation in Government service and Government controlled industrial establishments of those sections who had no chance so far.
10. Encouragement to art, literature, special cultural groups. and assistance and promotion of cultural activities with this social end in view.

185. Items 7, 8 and 9 will be dealt with separately in view of their importance. Progressive legislation is urgently needed for the regeneration of the Hindu social system. The bigotted and reactionary opposition to Hindu social reform secured a poor response in the country. This is a welcome sign. It is necessary that Parliament, unmindful of the reactionary opposition, should go forward and boldly put an end to social injustice, however strongly entrenched in society.

G. EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR ITS REMOVAL

186. Investigation into the causes of educational backwardness among the Other Backward Classes and the devising of measures for their effective removal constitute an important part of our enquiry. We consequently paid much attention to this subject, and endeavoured to collect as much data as possible. With this end in view, we framed questions No. 49 to 69 (of our questionnaire) and expected both from the State Governments and from the representatives of various communities sufficient material to assess the cause of present educational backwardness and to understand the educational progress made by the several communities in the backward classes group. We asked for the percentage of literacy among various communities. Here we found that the material furnished was meagre and far from satisfactory. The State Governments pleaded that as the 1951 Census

enumeration did not collect educational statistics caste-wise, it was difficult for them to furnish the statistics asked for. This was an initial handicap. We found from the previous Census Reports that caste-wise literacy figures were given for some of the communities but the procedure followed was not uniform throughout the country. Moreover, some States have disappeared after integration with other States, or after merger. It was difficult therefore to get a caste-wise picture of literacy in each State. We also realized that the literacy figures given in the previous Census Reports might not be wholly reliable as it was difficult to envisage uniform educational advancement by all the communities. We wanted in the alternative to ascertain from the States caste-wise figures of the students belonging to the Other Backward Classes studying in the various educational institutions. This would have enabled us to find out to what extent the communities belonging to the backward classes have been able to take advantage of the educational facilities offered by the States. The States pleaded their inability to furnish even this information. The representatives of the various communities who appeared before us, have given us some figures regarding the number of matriculates and graduates belonging to their communities. It was difficult to make use of these figures as it was evident that they were not always obtained from authentic sources, and frequently they related to a particular area and not the whole State. The Ministry of Education, Government of India, however, furnished us the total number of educational institutions and the total number of students studying in those institutions. They did not furnish the caste-wise figures for this group. It was difficult, therefore, for us to determine exactly the educational advancement of each community listed in the group of the Other Backward Classes. We were left with no alternative except in a general way to rely on the figures of literacy given in the previous Census Reports, oral evidence tendered by the representatives of the backward classes regarding their general educational advancement, and the impressions gained by the Commission during visits to various educational institutions.

Having thus ascertained from various sources the causes of educational backwardness, we summarise them below:—

1. Traditional apathy for education on account of social and environmental conditions or occupational handicaps.
2. Poverty and lack of means of a large number of communities to educate their children.
3. Lack of educational institutions in the rural areas.
4. Living in inaccessible areas and lack of proper communications.
5. Lack of adequate educational aids in the form of freeships, scholarships and monetary grants for the purchase of books and clothing.
6. Lack of residential hostel facilities in places where educational institutions are situated.
7. Unemployment among the educated acting as a damper on the desire of some of the communities to educate their children.

8. Defective educational system which does not train students for appropriate occupations and professions.

187. Existing social conditions are responsible for the traditional apathy in some of the communities towards the education of children. These conditions are gradually disappearing in the wake of modern ideas spreading in rural areas. Certain communities engaged in out-door occupations such as agriculture, live-stock breeding, collection of forest produce, fisheries and the like, usually employ the children either in their own occupation or in earning a subsidiary income. Extreme poverty has made them indifferent to education. There are numerous other small communities who are poor, who are without fixed habitation and who are extremely indifferent to their educational advancement. Their children can only be educated if the parents are provided with settled conditions of life. The representatives of the backward classes in all States pleaded that lack of educational institutions in rural areas and lack of adequate educational aids in the form of freeships, scholarships, and hostel facilities were standing in the way of their educational advancement. They also cited instances where students were unable to get admission in science, engineering, medical, agriculture, veterinary colleges or other technical institutions for want of sufficient number of seats and they pleaded that a certain percentage of seats in such institutions should be reserved exclusively for their boys and girls.

188. That the general progress of literacy in India is slow can be gauged from the following table:—

Year	Percentage
1911	5.9
1921	7.2
1931	8.0
1941	Not available.
1951	16.6

189. The progress of literacy in the various States is given in the attached table for the purpose of comparison. (Appendix IV). It will be seen therefrom that the percentage of literacy in 1951 was extremely low in the following States:—

State	Percentage
Bilaspur and Himachal Pradesh	7.7
Vindhya Pradesh	6.1
Bhopal	8.2
Rajasthan	8.4
Uttar Pradesh	10.8

190. Even in other States the progress of literacy through the decades, has been slow. This will be clear from the case of the undivided Madras State where some three decades ago educational facilities were offered to the backward classes. The progress of literacy in that State is given in the following table:—

Year	Percentage
1921	9.8
1931	9.3
1941	14.4
1951	19.3

The literacy figures in that State for the livelihood groups of (1) Owner-cultivators, (2) tenant cultivators, (3) agricultural labourers are respectively, 15.4 per cent, 15.9 per cent and 7.0 per cent (1951 Census). Even in a State like Mysore, where the education of the backward classes received early attention at the hands of the authorities, the progress of literacy has continued to be very slow. The rate of increase of literacy in that State is given in the following table:—

Year			Percentage
1931	...	...	9.1
1941	...	...	13.0
1951	...	...	20.3

191. It is only in Travancore-Cochin that the percentage of literacy is as high as 46.4 per cent (1951)—the highest in India. This progress was due mainly to the sustained efforts made by the Rulers and their administrators and also by the Christian Missionaries in that State for a period of over half a century.

192. Moreover literacy percentages do not necessarily give the general educational advancement of the people in any State. They indicate only the number of people who can read and write and that often with difficulty. To understand the educational advancement of any section of the people it is necessary to know the number of persons in that section who have passed at least the elementary stage of education and who are not likely to relapse into illiteracy. The recent drive in adult education has also contributed to the increase of literacy at the time of the 1951 Census. But these neo-literates cannot accurately be described as educated. The conclusion remains that educational progress among the backward classes is extremely poor.

193. The problem of education in most of the States is chiefly the problem of the backward classes, for it is they who are the extremely backward in education. On the eve of independence barely 30 per cent of the children in the age-group 6—11 were in schools of one kind or another. Lack of both educational institutions and aid in rural areas are responsible for the educational backwardness of these classes. The number of primary schools in 1953 for the whole of India was 2,21,082 with 1,92,96,840 pupils. According to the provisional figures that we collected from the State Governments the total number of pupils belonging to Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes in 1952-53 was 57,19,009. The number of students from these two groups in middle schools was 4,27,981, in high schools 5,69,099 and in arts and science colleges 25,973 (*vide* Appendix V). We could not verify the authenticity of these figures, but we are using them to indicate the enormous leeway that the country has to make up in the educational field. The Planning Commission, in its First Five Year Plan (page 529) estimates an expenditure of nearly Rs. 400 crores for providing education for 100 per cent of the children of age-group of 6—14, secondary education for 20 per cent of those passing from the first stage, university education for 10 per cent of those passing out of high schools, and technical education on a modest scale and other minor items. In addition, approximately Rs. 200 crores will be needed to train 27 lakhs of teachers for Basic and High Schools, and Rs. 272 crores for buildings. The Five Year Plan makes

a provision of 151.66 crores (35.02 crores for the Centre, and 116.64 crores for the States) for educational development. According to the Planning Commission, "it is extremely urgent that all other possible sources of help should be discovered and fully utilized" to make up the inadequacy of the provision in the First Plan. We could not obtain separate figures for students belonging to the Other Backward Classes.

194. We noticed that wherever educational facilities in the shape of freeships, scholarships and hostel facilities were provided for the students of the Other Backward Classes, they enabled a number of boys of these classes to receive education. The quantum of aid was invariably inadequate and the representatives of the backward classes pressed for more aid. A number of communities among the Other Backward Classes group are unable to take advantage even of free educational facilities. In one of the High Schools of Vindhya Pradesh, with free education there were only twelve students of Other Backward Classes out of a total reported strength of five hundred and odd, because the parents were too poor to pay for books and clothing and for boarding charges.

195. The essential stage of education, viz., elementary education is not yet made free and compulsory throughout the country. In some States it is free and compulsory in some localities, while in others fees are being levied at the middle-school stage. The Directive principles of State policy under Article 45 of the Indian Constitution have not yet been implemented, though four years have elapsed since the promulgation of the Constitution. Further delay will only halt the progress of the backward classes. It is necessary therefore that in the next six years a scheme of free and compulsory elementary education especially of the basic type should be introduced throughout the country.

196. In recommending the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education for the age-group 6—14 we are not advocating the extension of the present orthodox system of education. We are in favour of immediate conversion of the existing elementary schools into Basic Schools and the establishment of only Basic Schools wherever there are no schools.

197. *Basic Education*—The sovereign remedy for the liquidation of backwardness of all kinds is effective education. The nation has to be educated into healthy ideals of social equality and justice. People must be made to feel that they are one human family and are all responsible to each other especially for the all round betterment of the lowest amongst us. Neither differences of caste, nor of religion, nor language, nor wealth should be able to divide us. Unfortunately, in India, the forces of unity are greatly neglected and those of disruption are intensely active and gain support both from the narrow-minded self-seekers and the frustrated elements in society, who cultivate an all round attitude of distress and suspicion.

198. Only a new type of education, one calculated not only to give better instruction but also to re-construct social life, can uplift the people. Even the noblest literature of mediaeval times, on which the nation developed its high moral ideals, is in places vitiated by the

traditional recognition of high and low in society. We shall consequently have to create a new literature in order to inculcate correct ideas of equality and respect for the personality of every individual irrespective of his social status, wealth, education or culture.

199. The educational system which the British introduced in India could not foster any such social virtues. It was an education calculated to prepare individuals for a certain type of career. There was a race for distinction in examinations, a race for jobs and a race for promotions and preferment, the crown being safe pensions and independence—not the independence of the nation, but the independence of the individual. The Government servant generally basked in the favour of the foreign bureaucracy, had a substantial bank balance, could defy public opinion, and was not trained to feel responsible to the society whose salt he was eating. All social virtues were confined to the securing of more education and better conditions for one's personal relatives and caste people.

200. The old charity was there, but it was confined to helping the poorest of the poor in merely keeping body and soul together. It was never intended or extended to making them into a self-respecting, self-reliant citizens who would be assets to the nation.

201. We cannot hope to build a nation on the strength of such an individualistic career-seeking system of education. The bulk of the nation did not realise that such a career-seeking education if made universal can only result in creating unemployment, and a class of parasites competing with each other, hating each other and developing unsocial instincts all around. The central urge of all career-seeking education is to secure a life of comfort through exploitation of the labour of weaker sections of the community.

202. It is a patent fact that when a girl is to be given in marriage, the parents are not so much anxious to find out whether the prospective bride-groom is likely to be a loyal and loving husband, with the capacity to maintain the family, as they are anxious to discover whether his family is rich enough to maintain a servant or servants so that their daughter will not have to work with her hands. Even when parents ask their children to study hard, the threat uttered is if you do not learn, and do not study hard, you will be given to work with your own hands. Those who have to work in the mid-day sun are considered socially inferior. Those who can spend the whole day under the shade of a roof are socially superior. The upper castes are those whose dress is not likely to be soiled by the colour of mud. These professions are called 'white-dress professions' just as the holders of similar jobs in the West are termed "white-collar" workers.

203. Apart from the necessity of increasing production for the nation, social revolution demands that in the new system of education working with the hands for manufacturing socially useful articles should become an essential and central element. The three-fingered education for quill-driving should be replaced by the ten-fingered education in which the hands are used for spinning, carpentry, smithing, and various agricultural pursuits. It was the genius of Mahatma Gandhi that suggested that the present-day education could

be replaced by Basic Education, in which all the elements of knowledge, efficiency and culture, are correlated to handicrafts of national importance. Many people make the mistake of regarding Basic Education as a kind of mere technical education. Gandhiji was never tired of explaining that although he did want efficiency in handicrafts and finally the capacity to produce socially useful articles of scientific finish; he did not want basic education to be merely technical education. He wanted all cultural elements that go to make for a liberal education to be correlated to handicrafts. Handicraft, thus, was really the medium of education. Language was merely a medium of exchange of thought, but the real medium of education was the nationally useful handicrafts which could be learnt with profit by the nation as a whole.

204. Educationists who are concerned with evolving a new society based on social justice and universal brotherhood are unanimous in the belief that such constructive activity is the best means of developing moral and social virtues.

205. One of the objections raised against Basic Education is that by encouraging the handicrafts, it might revive the caste-system with all its rigidity of hereditary professions thus thwarting the ambitions of the backward classes. No criticism could be blinder than this. Everyone wants education, it is true, as a stepping stone to Government jobs or some other soft jobs. The remedy, as we have suggested elsewhere, is that Basic Education should be made the gate-way to Government service, and Government services should be made hard enough, that is a degree of physical labour must be made obligatory for all Government servants in some shape or another. Basic Education, being the better kind of education, more virile and all round, should receive the highest patronage at the hands of the Government and of all communities. As regards perpetuation of caste, there is no fear of caste being perpetuated so long as all professions are thrown open to all persons, irrespective of caste or class. The method of approach may be something like the following:—

1. There should be an examination in domestic handicrafts and other works of national importance, such as processes of agriculture, spinning, carding, weaving, carpentry, blacksmithing, house-building, road-making, bridge-building, cattle-rearing, dairy work, poultry-farming, etc. These examinations should be thrown open to all. Those who have an hereditary aptitude for these professions and handicrafts will naturally prove themselves better and gain in self-confidence. They will thus shake off their inferiority complex.
2. Those who pass this examination should be given an intensive course of three years in general knowledge and culture. At the end of this course, there should be an examination. It is expected that at such examinations, students of the backward classes (those of advanced classes will necessarily be not too many because they would have passed through the sieve of handicraft efficiency) may fair better, and yet students of the advanced classes may be asked to get over a small handicap. After the second

examination the students should be given a course in pedagogy or teachers' training. Besides the usual subjects of child psychology, class management, methods of teaching, ideals of education, methods of education etc., there will be the additional subject of correlation of handicrafts with various subjects so essential for Basic Education. Students, during the course of general knowledge, will be given lessons in the following practical subjects: Drawing, survey and levelling, photography, motor-driving, cooking, first aid etc.

206. In a vast country like India, with an overwhelming number of rural population, domestic handicrafts will always remain, and they will be the mainstay of the rural population. The whole nation, therefore, must be trained in one or other of the domestic handicrafts.

207. Apart from its professional value, training in domestic handicrafts has great educational value and it can well become the stepping stone to training for big industries also. The knowledge of domestic handicrafts gained is never a waste. It is an ideal equipment for constructive thinking and work. It trains alike the fingers and the mind, which is useful in every walk of life. Those who were already trained in some domestic handicraft as a hereditary profession would thus be at great advantage, but they would be free to give it up if they prefer. The caste-system is not encouraged or petrified by this arrangement, but those born in an artisan family would naturally get special advantages. Caste is bad because it bound a man to his hereditary profession; but when that binding is removed and full freedom is given caste distinction and the evil effects of caste will disappear.

208. Teachers in Basic Schools should be drawn from the artisan and occupational communities of the rural areas. Their traditional skill would be of the utmost use in the new system of education, Gandhiji's Basic Education did not fare well, so far, because the initial mistake was made in accepting teachers from the genteel classes who were prepared to talk, discuss and lecture, but who were not prepared to work with their hands. Turning middle-class or upper-class teachers into efficient craft teachers is well-nigh impossible. Even where they had tried to learn the crafts it was more often than not to succeed in getting promotion than with a desire to acquire proficiency or out of any respect for manual work. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that persons selected from the artisan or occupational communities should be trained in the Basic Teachers' Training Colleges. They should first be given three years intensive training in general education, and those who succeed in this should then be given two years training in the modern science and art of pedagogy. They should be taught the importance of Basic Education together with the art of correlation of all knowledge through the nationally useful handicrafts in which they are proficient. Since all life is one, whatever knowledge mankind has gathered has inevitably a vital correlation with the means of production. Food, clothing, shelter and necessary implements are the four vital needs of human existence. Whatever handicrafts arise out of these essential needs of man can easily be correlated with all the sciences and arts which mankind has evolved in its struggle for successful corporate life. Teachers should have a thorough grounding in

all the social sciences. Special magazines should be published which would replenish month by month the general knowledge of all the village Basic School teachers. These teachers will be required every evening to deliver discourses to the villagers on various subjects relating to their lives. The old custom of reciting traditional lore from the Ramayana and Mahabharata should be revived but the subjects would have to be changed to suit modern conditions. They have to tell people something of the world to-day and the forces that are at work in humanity at large. They should also teach the social virtues needed for leading a nation to prosperity and greatness.

209. Care should be taken not to inculcate religious fanaticism, or provincial or parochial patriotism, and young minds must be trained to understand the evils of imperialism and colonialism, which almost ruined the whole world during the last century. The people in the villages must be told of the evils of caste and the theory of hereditary superiority and inferiority. They should also be taught to discard parasitic life and ignoble idleness.

210. We recommend that rural education of the Basic type be introduced universally in India. The establishment of Basic Schools should be on a planned basis, and our suggestion is that centrally situated villages should be selected for the location of senior Basic schools so that they could serve all the feeder villages within a radius of five miles. This distance has traditionally been selected by our people as a natural unit. A man starting from his home in the early morning can easily cover a distance of five or ten miles, do his work there, and return home before it is dark. This unit was known to the ancient as '*Panchkoshi*'. Elementary Basic Schools in feeder villages will have a course of four to five years and full-fledged *Panchkoshi* village schools will have an additional course of three or more years. *Panchkoshi* Basic Schools should have an adequate number of trained artisans teachers of the type described in the foregoing paragraphs. There should be a plot of land attached to each school and a spacious hall or shed for carrying on the various processes of domestic handicrafts. The education should be intensive, and the young men or women finishing the Basic Course of *Panchkoshi* village schools should acquire as much knowledge as a student of the present day intermediate standard possesses; only we would not burden those taking this course with the necessity of learning English. We would be content with teaching the students the regional language and Hindi. Those whose mother-tongue is Hindi or any dialect thereof will do well to learn one more language preferably of the South. Special attention must be given to a thorough grounding in mathematics because mathematics is the basis of the scientific study and research, as it is also the basis of practical economics and workable sociology. Of course, there would be instruction in sciences also.

211. With a policy of such free and compulsory education in rural areas, these schools would have students from all communities and the proportion of students from the various communities would be automatically adjusted. If it should be found that students of a particular community had difficulty in profiting by such educational facilities, the State should make adequate provisions and remove such difficulties.

212. Each *Panchkoshi* area should have a small Board or Committee whose responsibility it would be to see that no child in that area went without Basic Education.

213. *Hostels*—Closely allied to the new orientation in education is the life of students who live in hostels. A sound training in Basic Education is possible only if the students are enabled to live in hostels. The social revolution that we envisage can be hastened by systematically developing social or community life in hostels. It is, therefore, necessary to establish student hostels throughout the length and breadth of India and the maximum number of students should be encouraged to live in the hostels. The cost of board and lodging for the poorer sections of the backward classes may be borne by the Government. Students of all communities and all religious denominations should be encouraged to live together, and to lead a common life. They will naturally share each other's lives and plan together for the future. Every student, whatever his status in society, should be obliged to take his share in cleansing the latrines and in cooking the food for all. The hostel should co-operate with the school in managing a farm, a vegetable and fruit garden on the land attached jointly to the school and hostel. The main distinction of vegetarian and non-vegetarian diet may be maintained. But there should be common dining-halls, though cooking may be separate. Only such community life can ever break down the social differences, communal antagonism and idea of high and low. Students will naturally shed caste loyalties and cultivate social solidarity and a humanistic approach.

214. It should be possible for teachers and students working together on the farm and at the handicrafts to earn sufficient money to defray at least in part the expenses of the school. Gandhiji laid special emphasis on this point because he said that India is too poor to-day to undertake to defray all such expenses from the State treasury. Even when poverty is eliminated, India does not aspire to acquire riches on the scale at which the predatory imperial powers amassed by exploiting other countries and other races. The ideal of Sarvodaya is that we shall not allow others to exploit us; nor shall we be guilty ourselves of exploiting others. With such ideals we cannot be lavish in our expenditure. Universal literacy will of course be the target. But literacy will not be the main drive of our educational endeavour. Proficiency in the various arts of life and in the social virtue will be the key note of this general national education.

215. There were a number of private or communal hostels in many of the places which we visited. Most of them were built by subscriptions from members of certain communities supplemented in some cases by Government grants. They were originally meant for the benefit of students of those communities who contributed for their building. It is only recently that many of them have been thrown open to students of all communities though their admission is restricted. Most hostels are financed by rich people who were anxious to educate the children of their own communities. Communal hostels encouraged segregation and are not likely to help in the social revolution which we contemplate. We recommend that hereafter all hostels be licensed and that no hostel shall receive a licence unless the Government is satisfied that there is adequate provision for sanitation and

supervision, and in addition that no hostel shall receive a licence unless it is prepared to admit students of various communities and more especially up to a required percentage of the socially backward communities. The percentage should never be less than 20; it may go up to 50 and these students of backward communities shall be chosen, not by the managers of the hostels, but by a Local Board of Selection consisting of representatives of all communities of the area. No social distinction will be allowed. It should be laid down that students belonging to other religions must also be admitted in these hostels. Hindus, Christians, Muslims, Parsis, and Jews must all learn to live together, as they actually do to-day in Government college hostels.

216. *Samata Ashram*—We also recommend that a special type of Ashram Schools where teachers with their families live with the students, share the common life, and make bold experiments in collective living, should be established in various parts of India. We further recommend the establishment of at least one such *Ashram* School or *Samata Ashram* in each of the three hundred and odd districts into which India is divided. These *Ashrams* should be run by specially trained teachers who have equal respect for all religions and regard all communities as belonging to one human family. No respect should be shown to religious practices and prejudices that divide man from man, and that deny the family kinship of all races and all religions. It is expected that these *Samata Ashrams* will be the centres of a new Indian culture and they may become a pattern for many countries to follow. Service for the people living around the school shall form part of the school curriculum. The school, for instance, may run a bakery and supply bread to the whole community, or it may evolve new festivals suited to the sentiments and ideals of all religions and all healthy "isms".

217. Since we want a social revolution calculated to establish equality of status for all human beings, we recommend that schools should have hostels attached to them. We do not expect hostels to be attached to every village school, but there must be hostels attached to the *Panchkoshi* schools. They should come as near as possible to the *Samata Ashram*. *Samata Ashrams* will be the heaven that will serve all the '*Panchkoshi*' schools.

218. The *Panchkoshi* Schools, as also the *Samata Ashrams* will naturally culminate in *Rural Universities of the basic type*. Here also the courses of study shall be determined not by some *a priori* ideals but by the immediate and long-range necessities of society. We want to train self-reliant men and women who will be assets to the nation. Everyone will take his share in the production of wealth and in the development of a democratic society capable of managing its own affairs through brotherly co-operation. The spirit of competition leads to exploitation, and exploitation generates fear, rivalry, suspicion and frustration. Our sole aim in the new education is to banish competition and exploitation and consequent mutual distrust.

219. Some one has defined society as a group of persons who trust each other, love each other, and are not afraid or suspicious of each other. Casteism has cut at the very root of this social ideal. Mutual suspicion, distrust and rivalry can be removed only through a new education and a new life, evolved through the collective life of these new schools.

220. Fortunately, experiments are being made in some parts of the country in evolving a new type of Rural University. These institutions could really be called *Sarvodaya Vidya Piths*, where you begin with helping the lowliest and the lost and gradually climb upwards towards a better order of society. As early as 1937, Gandhiji said, "I would revolutionise college education and relate it to national necessities". "The Rural University represents the highest stage in the educational programme under the Basic System and is a continuation of post-Basic Education at a higher level". "True education is that", Gandhiji once said, "which answers the vital needs of a nation". "The most urgent national needs to-day are food and shelter, work, health and sanitation, education and a clean and devoted band of workers, social servants, administrators from the village-level upwards". The educational programme or courses of study of the Rural University will be organized around basic national needs. "The method will be the Basic method of education for and through life. All research, experimentation and studies will centre round actual problems of rural life, and will be developed to activities and studies leading towards the solution of this problem."*

221. In planning for the introduction of the Basic System of Education throughout the country, one psychological factor has to be borne in mind. The backward classes are suspicious of the advanced classes. They are not prepared to accept the *bona fides* of the latter, neither do they have any conception of modern dangers and the drastic remedies required. If any other type of education is recommended, they simply say "Give us only the kind of education which you have been giving to your own children and that in abundant measure. We know this much that you and your children are able to occupy the best places in society on the strength of the education which you choose for yourself. We know that Government recognizes the degrees of the present-day orthodox education, and those who occupy high places in Government on the strength of these orthodox Indian and Foreign degrees are held in high esteem in society. It is they who wield all power. We do not want any other education, however ideal it may be". You cannot quarrel with them because they are justified in their inference. They say "by the fruit shall the tree be judged".

222 *Therefore, in order to make Basic Education popular with the masses, and to carry conviction with them, it is necessary that Government should categorically declare that in selecting candidates for Government service, especially of the upper grades, students trained in Basic Education will be given a decided preference.* This one statement will change the psychology both of the masses and the educated classes. The leaders of the nation have by now seen the utility and necessity of Basic Education. The Congress has also adopted the same as the pattern for education. Government will not lose anything by this change of policy. It has been recognized by unbiased observers that products of Basic Education, provided the experiment is honest and thorough-going, prove to be better administrators and are more sympathetic to the people. They are able to solve social problems much better than graduates of orthodox universities. One great advantage of the Basic type of Education is that people from the rural

* Extract from a pamphlet by Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram.

areas take to it very easily and succeed better. In Basic Schools they will not be the victims of an inferiority complex. They will turn out to be better administrators and better leaders in community projects and social reform movements.

223. It would be unjust to judge Basic Education by the results obtained in the half-hearted experiments that have been carried on for the past ten or twelve years in some parts of the country under State Patronage. Even the experiments carried on by the Gandhian groups cannot be said to have evolved the standard type of Basic Education. People have erred on account of their personal predilections. In some places, the experiments were not carried on with sufficient educational insight. Gandhiji's insistence on turning every national school into a Charkha School was also partly responsible for the one-sided turn which Basic Schools took. It is possible for men of education to plan a systematic scheme of Basic Education suited to the ideals which India has placed before herself. The Basic ideal is substantially sound. It corrects many mistakes which we have been making for the past thousand years and more. It should therefore be tried with a National Will and National Enthusiasm.

224. *Pre-basic or pre-school Education*—The Planning Commission recognizes that "the highly impressionable, plastic, and educationally potent period of a child's life preceding the age of six, has been neglected in India although it is all the more important in this country, in view of the extremely depressing conditions of home life in most cases" and yet it states that "in view of the shortage of funds, Government can accept only limited responsibility in this field, confined to research in evolving methods suited to our needs, training of teachers, helping private agencies who take up this work in rural areas by grants-in-aid and running a few model *Balwadis* or nursery schools in each State." The existing schools are mostly concentrated in towns and cater only to children of the richer classes, while the need of the rural areas and of industrial labour, is almost completely neglected.

225. We have observed elsewhere in this Report that the social and environmental conditions of the backward communities are not conducive to the educational advancement. Extreme poverty and ignorance have further accentuated the situation. Pre-Basic or Pre-school education is, therefore, very necessary to overcome the initial social handicaps. The training of children during this period will greatly help them and prepare them to take their place in the Basic Schools along with children of other classes. We recommend that Central and State Governments should take a more active interest in establishing Pre-Basic Schools in rural and industrial areas.

226. We have dealt with Basic Education in greater detail in view of its importance. It is not necessary for us to deal with other stages of education in similar detail. The University and the Secondary Education Commissions in their reports have made very valuable suggestions for re-organisation of the whole system of education. The Central Advisory Board of Education and the Education Ministry, Government of India, have formulated various schemes in the light of those suggestions. But we have noticed that implementation of

these suggestions is delayed and in some States, no tangible steps have yet been taken to reorganize the educational structure.

227. *Secondary Education*—We recognize that it will be some time before Basic Education is made universal throughout the country. The training of the personnel for Basic Schools and the converting of existing schools into Basic Schools, as and when the trained personnel become available, may take some time. Till then the present orthodox system of education will have to be continued.

228. The Secondary Stage of education is vital from the point of view of the educational advancement of the backward classes. For a great majority of students from these classes will necessarily have to seek employment or occupation immediately after completing this Stage. The secondary stage is preparatory for life for the majority; and preparatory for a University career for those who have the necessary aptitude. It is necessary that the students should receive instruction in such of the courses as will train them for the professions and occupations which they intend eventually to enter. They must also become fully equipped for the arduous duties of social life and for good citizenship. It is gratifying that this aspect of secondary schooling has received increasing recognition at the hands of the authorities in recent years, and the Government of India have already proposed to introduce diversified courses of studies in every District Headquarters Secondary School all over the country.

229. The great handicap under which students from the backward classes labour is the lack of an adequate number of Secondary Schools in rural areas. They find it extremely difficult to prosecute their studies in schools located far away from their homes. They have no means to pay for their stay in such places nor are there any board and lodging facilities for them. It is necessary, therefore, that more Senior Basic or Secondary Schools with hostels attached to them should be established in rural areas for the benefit of backward class students. These hostels should also provide accommodation for students of other communities so that the hostels may be run on non-communal lines. But it is equally necessary that a majority of the places in those hostels should be reserved for the boys belonging to the backward classes. Students belonging to the poorer sections of these classes should be provided with free board and lodging, and till such arrangement is made, a scheme of scholarships should be instituted to enable them to prosecute their studies by paying for board and lodging in suitable places. The aim should be to make the hostels a training ground for developing that common social outlook which is so necessary for the future well-being of the country.

230. In view of the extreme poverty of the majority of students belonging to the backward classes, some would need monetary aid for the purchase of books and clothing. Necessary provision will also have to be made for this purpose.

231. *University Education*—It is generally recognized now that the present rush of students to the Universities should be prevented in the larger interests of the country. That can only be done by training students in various occupations and professions at the secondary stage itself. However, that cannot be done so long as University Degree qualification continues to be a pre-requisite to Government service.

Only when the parents of the students of the backward classes discover that the University Degree is no longer a passport for Government service, will they lose the incentive to send their boys and girls to the Universities. The recent statement of policy on this question by the Union Minister for Education is a step in the right direction. It is the implementation of this policy that alone will check the mad rush to the present-day Universities.

232. The Basic Rural Universities will gradually take their place. The present-day Universities can then confine themselves to technical education and research.

233 Many spokesmen of the backward classes complained that their students could not secure admission in the University Colleges, and particularly to the Science, Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary and other technical institutions. The accommodation in these institutions of higher learning is naturally limited, but they complained about discrimination against some classes in the matter of admission. They, therefore, demanded reservation of a certain percentage of seats in such institutions for the students of the backward communities exclusively. We are not advocating University Education for all students, yet it is necessary that a certain percentage of seats should be reserved for qualified students of these classes, and the poorer amongst the meritorious should receive liberal scholarships.

Studies in Post-Graduate Courses and in Research Centres in India and Abroad

234. No nation can hope to survive under modern conditions unless its technology reaches the highest point. Simplicity of life and non-exploitation should not mean inferior equipment. We shall need the best experts in various sciences. The nation will run national laboratories and national teaching institutions for the development of various sciences. Judging from the progress we have already achieved in this direction, there is every likelihood of India achieving a place of honour within the next twenty years, and students of other countries will be coming to India for higher studies. But before we achieve this, we shall have to train our students in post-graduate courses in research centres both in India and abroad. We shall have to continue to send a large batch of our best students to foreign countries for training in modern sciences and technology. Students of advanced classes may have proved their capacity for higher learning; but it is not proved that students of backward communities, given the chance, cannot do the same since intelligence and capacity are not apportioned community-wise. We, therefore, recommend special scholarships for students of backward communities. It is necessary for some time at least, to avoid competition between students from advanced and backward communities.

235. At present no scholarships are exclusively reserved in the States for qualified candidates of these classes though some States have selected students of backward classes for training in special courses.

236. The Government of India allotted six scholarships for foreign studies in 1953-54 and twelve during 1954-55, for students of the backward classes.

237. We recommend that adequate provision should be made both by the States and the Government of India for training students of all backward classes in post-graduate courses and in research centres both in India and abroad.

238. *Adult Education*—The importance of adult education cannot be over-emphasised in a country where nearly 80 per cent of the population is illiterate. Democracy will not take root until a progressive programme of adult education trains the adult illiterate population of the country. The present programme lays emphasis mainly on literacy. The importance of recreational and cultural activities has only recently been recognized. In the interests of the backward classes this scheme of social education should be expanded to cover the whole country.

239. *Rural Reading Rooms and Libraries*—It is necessary to establish reading rooms and libraries in rural areas. The present facilities are very meagre and the neo-literates turned out by the adult education classes relapse into illiteracy for want of follow-up courses and suitable literature. A judicious selection of books must be made for stocking rural libraries. Important periodicals should be read out in the Rural Reading Rooms to keep the people in touch with the day to day happenings in the country. Also seminal books should be read before serious adults and explained.

240. *All India Institutions for Higher Learning*—It is said in a facile manner that the fissiparous tendencies in our land are only superficial but that unity runs through the whole land. We feel that new conditions should be created through which casteism, regional and linguistic tendencies can be rooted out. We recommend the setting up of special residential institutions of university grade in various States to inculcate an all-India outlook among the students. These institutions should be manned by professors and lecturers of outstanding learning and patriotism. The courses of studies must be suitably devised to enable the students to rise above communal, regional and linguistic predilections. The medium of instruction should be Hindi—the official and national language of the country. One or two regional languages also must be taught in these institutions. Professors and students drawn from all parts of the country and from all communities should live together, study together and work together. The details may be worked out by a special committee appointed for the purpose.

241. In advocating the speedy educational advancement of the backward classes, our object is not merely to bring them to the level of more advanced communities but to seek in the very process the removal of social inequalities.

242. With this end in view we have suggested the establishment of Basic Schools all over the rural areas on a planned basis. There must be at least one school in each village—big or small—giving primary education of the basic type, and at least one *Panchkoshi* school in a central village serving adjoining village schools. A *Panchkoshi* school will have to make adequate provision for all the students that gather there from its feeder area. These schools should be manned by artisans trained as efficient basic teachers. On a rough estimate, we may have to establish nearly five lakhs

of schools in villages and about fifty thousand *Panchkoshi* schools in central villages. It is expected that these schools, when properly manned and equipped, will so train the students that there will be no need for them to go to High Schools. The present policy of locating higher educational institutions in cities and towns should be discontinued. The *Panchkoshi* schools can be as efficient as modern High Schools are expected to be. In course of time these must become feeders for Rural Universities of the basic type. The whole scheme envisages the setting up in due course of hundreds of Rural Universities of the basic type in the country. Then alone can education achieve a social revolution.

243. We have suggested elsewhere the establishment of non-denominational *Samata Ashrams* in various parts of the country. Those *Ashrams* will not be mere schools. They will be the training ground for a casteless and classless society. It is expected that persons trained in these *Ashrams* will eventually run the *Panchkoshi* Schools. These *Ashrams* will be conducted by men and women imbued with the new ideals of *Sarvodaya* Society, and the Rural Universities will necessarily be under the guidance of such men and women. With the establishment of *Ashrams* of a proper type, and the recruiting of basic teachers from the artisan and occupational classes, the training of teachers for Basic Schools need not be so costly as is predicted by educationists of the orthodox type. In fact, the question is not so much of the cost as of the time it will take to train Basic teachers. The principle of the "inevitability of gradualness" has to be accepted whenever we are out to have a social revolution. We recommend that the Government decide to spend all the money they can on basic education. Only where Basic Schools cannot be started, should money be spent on orthodox education.

Educational Aid by Government of India for Backward Classes

244. The Government of India decided in 1944 to institute a scheme for the award of scholarships to Scheduled Caste candidates to enable them to prosecute studies in post-matric courses in scientific and technological subjects. After independence the scope was widened to include Scheduled Tribes and a grant of Rs. 50,000 was sanctioned for scholarships in the year 1948-49. The scheme was reviewed by Government towards the end of 1948-49 and a revised scheme of scholarships to include other educationally backward classes was formulated. The grant for this purpose was raised to 10 lakhs in the year 1949-50 and in awarding scholarships preference was given to students studying Medicine, Engineering, Technology, Agriculture and Science.

245. After the adoption of the Constitution on the 26th January 1950, the problem of the educationally backward classes came to the forefront. All the State Governments formulated their own schemes for the grant of concessions to these classes at all stages of education. In most of the States the expenditure under this head was largely for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The quantum of help for the Other Backward Classes was very little. The demand for expansion of the Central Scheme of Scholarships for post-matriculation studies grew and the Government of India approved the continuance of the scheme for a further period of five years

from 1950, with an initial grant of Rs. 12 lakhs. This sum was later increased to 15 lakhs in 1951-52. In 1952-53 the total grant amounted to Rs. 30 lakhs and the total number of scholarships awarded in that year came to 6,018 scholarships. The provision during 1953-54 was 62 lakhs and in 1954-55 it was, 107 lakhs. The number of applicants for central scholarships grew year by year. The number of applicants and the number of scholarships awarded during the year 1953-54 is given below:—

	Number of applications received	Number of Scholarships granted
1. Scheduled Castes	6,560	5,954
2. Scheduled Tribes	1,779	1,587
3. Other Backward Classes	10,666	4,393

It will be seen that while almost every one of the applicants belonging to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe groups got a scholarship about 55 per cent of the candidates of the Other Backward Class group had to do without.

Facilities for Advanced Studies Abroad

246. The Government of India have instituted scholarships for studies abroad. During the years 1947-48 to 1950-53 only 2 Scheduled Castes and one Other Backward Class candidates were given scholarships for studies abroad under this scheme. There was a demand for more scholarships for these classes, and the number was raised at the rate of two for each of the three groups, viz., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Selection of candidates was entrusted to the Union Public Service Commission. The number was raised to 12 during 1954-55. As has been observed elsewhere in the Report, great importance is attached to the training of students in various sciences in foreign universities in order to equip the students of the backward classes to take their place along with others. It is therefore necessary that Government of India should make adequate provision for award of foreign scholarships. The amount needed has been mentioned under the Head 'Grants'.

Scheme of Scholarships in States

247. The importance of scholarships to enable the students of Other Backward Classes to study various branches of higher learning has already been discussed in detail. Schemes of freeships and scholarships for the poorer sections of these classes have been in force in some of the South Indian States for some years past. The Commission was told that the amount provided for was inadequate and that therefore sufficient number of students could not be awarded scholarship. No such schemes were instituted in other States and it is only recently that efforts have been made to award some scholarships to the Other Backward Classes. It was urged in those States that a large number of poor students of the Other Backward Classes went without higher education for want of

educational aid. Representatives of the backward classes drew the attention of the Commission to the increasing number of Scheduled Caste candidates in view of the monetary help they receive, and urged that unless such help is extended to Other Backward Classes there will be no hope for educational advancement among these classes. In view of the extreme poverty of these classes it is not possible for them to take advantage of the educational facilities offered by the State unless they are financially helped. We recommend therefore that schemes of freeships and scholarships should be introduced in all the States for the benefit of students belonging to the Other Backward Classes also. The State Governments must make adequate provision in their budgets for this purpose.

248. In the States in which schemes of scholarships are in force, it was urged that in awarding scholarships the claims of all the communities should be taken into consideration. Some others pleaded that the allotment should be first on the basis of districts, and then on the basis of the population of the communities in the several districts. This was necessary, they pointed out, because of the likelihood of students of certain communities getting the scholarships to the detriment of those who are extremely backward and who had none to back up their cases. Instances of discrimination in the award of scholarships were also brought to our notice. Scholarships should go to those who are in most dire need of them. We recommend that in awarding scholarships the claims of all communities should be taken into consideration and the allotment in the first instance should be on the basis of population of the various communities in that State, preference being always given to those who are extremely backward. We further suggest that small committees consisting of representatives of various communities be constituted for various grades of scholarships in each State to assist the educational authorities to select deserving candidates from among the different communities for the purpose of award. This would ensure an equitable distribution of scholarships among the students of all communities. It was also brought to our notice that in the circumstances prevailing today, it is likely that the most vocal among the backward may get scholarships while the most unfortunate are unnoticed. To obviate this, it was suggested that the income of the parents should be the basis on which scholarships should be awarded. In the States in which schemes of scholarships are in force, the State Governments have laid down a certain minimum income as the ceiling income entitling a student to get a scholarship. Some States have prescribed Rs. 1,500 per annum and some others have provided Rs. 3,000 per annum. Living conditions differ from State to State and consequently a uniform minimum income cannot be laid down for all the States. But a general rule could be laid down subject to local variations. We recommend that generally speaking the income of the parent of a student applying for a scholarship should not exceed Rs. 1,800 per annum to make him eligible for a scholarship up to the Secondary Course. The expenses of education are higher when students are sent for studies in the higher branches of learning, particularly in professional and technical courses. In all such cases, we recommend that the income of his parent should not exceed Rs. 3,600 per annum to entitle a student to apply for a scholarship.

Reservation of Seats in Science, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, Veterinary and other Technical and Technological Institutions of Higher Learning

249. We have already discussed in sufficient detail the claims for reservation of seats for all backward classes in the professional and technical branches of higher learning. Actually, in some of the Indian States, reservation for backward classes is already being made in such institutions. Reservation is necessitated on account of the limited number of seats in these institutions. There would have been no necessity for such a reservation if all the qualified boys of backward classes could secure admission. One view was that reservation of seats on caste basis is not desirable, and that the State must provide educational facilities for all the qualified students who seek admission to the higher branches of learning. This view is ideologically sound, but, as financial resources of the States are limited, and as it takes time for the establishment of institutions, we do not see any possibility that in the very near future professional and technical institutions in sufficient number will be established to provide for all the students seeking admission. Another suggestion was that qualifications for admission being equal, priority should be given to the students of backward classes and then only should students of the advanced classes be taken. A *via media* had to be found between these two views and it was suggested that reservation of seats in Science, Professional and Technical Colleges or Institutions should be apportioned on the basis of population of the several communities in a State. In practice, this would reduce the chances of brilliant boys from the advanced classes getting admission to reserved seats. There was also a view that reservation should not go beyond 50 per cent. All these points of view were discussed thoroughly. We, therefore, finally recommend that in all the Science, Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary and other technical and technological institutions, a reservation of 70 per cent of the seats should be made for qualified students of backward classes till such time as accommodation can be provided for all students eligible for admission. In making selection to the reserved quota of seats, qualified candidates from the extremely backward classes should be taken into consideration first. The remaining 30 per cent, as also all seats unavailed of by backward classes, should go to the rest of the students. The problem of further distribution of seats among the various communities in the backward classes group came up for consideration. It was pointed out that unless some arrangement is made for equitable distribution of the seats, there would be no justice to the more backward. We recommend that as far as possible, the reserved quota of seats in these educational institutions should be distributed on the principle of favouring the lower of the two claimants among the candidates from the various communities. A selection committee consisting of some representatives of all communities, not necessarily of the backward alone, should be set up to assist the educational authorities in selecting the best from among the students of the various communities.

H. Representation of Other Backward Classes in Government Services—Central and State

250. The most insistent demand of the Other Backward Classes, next to educational facilities, was for adequate representation of

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the qualified candidates from among them in various branches of Government. They argued that as Government service carries prestige, power and influence, the backward classes too should have their due share in it. The representatives of the backward classes stated that their members are not getting a fair deal at the hands of the appointing authorities for recruitment to various services. They pleaded that in the present atmosphere of caste structure, a definite percentage of posts must be reserved for them and the policy must be implemented scrupulously.

251. The Commission sought for exhaustive information on the rules of recruitment and on the number and percentage of persons belonging to the Other Backward Classes in the several branches of services—Central and State. Questions Nos. 70 to 86 in Questionnaire were framed somewhat in detail to elicit adequate information to determine to what extent the privilege of posts in the services is shared by all sections of the people. We asked for caste-wise figures of Government servants in all grades of services, but most of the State Governments could not furnish the necessary information as the caste-wise facts were not recorded in the case of Government employees. Only a few states have supplied caste-wise figures of Government employees with percentage of representation for some years. The rules of recruitment were modified to some extent in undivided Madras, Andhra and Travancore-Cochin also modified their rules after the promulgation of the Indian Constitution. These States in previous years had adhered strictly to the basis of caste in recruitment.

252. In view of the importance attached to Government services—due to lack of sufficient openings in other spheres, all classes aspire to them and even more so the backward classes who for centuries have had no share.

253. In mediaeval India, when the *Varna* system of social classification prevailed, each class was trained for a particular kind of service. Historical evolution produced governing classes everywhere in the world during mediaeval times. Modern conditions have changed the picture completely, and we must now devise a method which would not only give equality of opportunity to all but would render complete social justice to every section of the population.

254. *Toynbee has observed that out of twenty civilisations that went down the hill in the course of history, fifteen failed to adjust the competing claims of different sections of the population. The superiority of the ruling and priestly classes in India, the Hellenic conception of the philosopher guardians as the Rulers of the Republic; the class-efficiency of the Roman Civil Service; the Confucian literatti who administered the Cinic Universal State, the Feudal Daimyos and the Samurais of Japan and the recent British elements in Indian Civil Service, have all been disintegrated by the progressive forces of the new dynamic society throughout the world. The traditional Plutocratic methods of administration broke down because of the erroneous assumption that the common man is stupid, backward and irrational, and therefore incapable of self government. Where political, economic or social slavery was

*Pages 372—374 "The Study of History" by Toynbee abridged edition.

tolerated in some form or other the gulf between the ruling class and the ruled masses led to eventual liquidation of the former. It has, therefore, been recognized more as a measure of State craft than as a philosophic doctrine, that the internal stability of a country cannot be maintained unless all the various strata of the population are given a fair share in the administration of the country.

255. The above lessons of history were gradually recognized to some extent during the Muslim rule in India. Some of the successful Muslim Kings shared control with Hindu administrators even at the highest level. The British also had to recognize this factor although they did it slowly and reluctantly. Partly as a measure of State policy and partly as a result of public demand for a greater share in the administration, the British rulers very gradually conceded the recruitment of Indians to the Superior Services. Indian Civil Service Examinations formerly held in London only, were later held in India also to throw open greater opportunities to Indian candidates. The history of Indianisation of all branches of services including Army, Navy and Air Force is too recent to need detailed discussion.

256. Alarmed at the growth of political consciousness in the country, the British Government tried to weaken the Nationalistic forces by offering representation to the minority communities in Government services. Thus reservation of a certain percentage of appointments in favour of minority communities and groups like the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes was accepted and given effect to. When it was discovered that their candidates were unable to compete successfully in the open competitive examinations, a system was introduced of nominating a certain quota of the number recruited in open competition, in order to ensure their representation. In spite of this, for a long time the share of Indians in the administrative services of their own country remained small.

257. After independence the reservation for minorities other than Scheduled Castes was withdrawn, but it was laid down that in the case of recruitment made otherwise than by open competition on an All-India basis, the reservation of 13-1/3 per cent for Muslims, and 10 per cent for other minority communities be continued. (This was withdrawn on 26th January 1950). Instructions were issued by the Government of India as early as 1934 that duly qualified candidates belonging to the depressed classes should not be deprived of fair opportunities of appointment because they could not succeed in open competition. As it was difficult to get qualified candidates in sufficient numbers owing to their general educational backwardness, no definite percentage of vacancies for these classes was earmarked. The position was reviewed in 1942 and the progress was found to be unsatisfactory. While the then Government of India felt that the slow progress might be due mainly to the unavailability of suitable candidates, it was felt that reservation of a definite percentage would provide the necessary stimulus to the candidates from these castes. The age-limit for entry into service was relaxed and the examination fees were also reduced. Though the Scheduled Castes were entitled to 12.75 per cent reservation on the basis of population, orders were issued in August 1943, to reserve 8-1/3 per cent

only in view of the paucity of their candidates. This reservation applied only to direct recruitment and not to recruitment by promotion. Central Services, Class I and II, and the Subordinate Services under the administrative control of Government of India were brought under the scope of this order. The age-limit was raised by three years in the case of Scheduled Castes candidates and the examination fees reduced to one-fourth. These rules were further liberalised in June 1946, and the percentage was raised to 12½ per cent to correspond approximately with the total population of the Scheduled Castes in the country. This percentage was continued after independence and it was further laid down that in the case of recruitment made otherwise than by open competition, but made on an all-India basis, a reservation of 16-2/3 per cent of the vacancies should be made for these castes. At about the same time, the *Swaraj* Government examined the question of providing reservation in the Central Services for the tribal people. It was decided that no useful purpose would be served by providing such reservation, since the number of qualified candidates available from the tribal people would be extremely small. Instructions were issued, however, in December 1947, that the appointing authorities should keep in view the desirability of recruiting suitable candidates from amongst the tribal people to the vacancies reserved for other minority groups, particularly in recruitment from the States of Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In July 1949, further orders were issued granting the tribals the same age and fee concessions as were allowed to Scheduled Castes.

258. With the coming into force of the Indian Constitution the policy of recruitment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was reviewed in the light of the provisions made therein. (Resolution of the Government of India under Article 335 and 336 of the Indian Constitution is given in Appendix VI). The position now is as follows:—

Scheduled Castes—

- (a) Reservation of 12½ per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment through open competition.
- (b) Reservation of 16-2/3 per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment made on an all-India basis, otherwise than by open competition.

Scheduled Tribes—

- (a) Reservation of five per cent of the vacancies filled by open competition or made otherwise.

259. The age-limit for gazetted service was relaxed by three years and in the case of non-gazetted service by five years, and the fee prescribed for admission to any examination or selection was reduced to one-fourth. These orders were made applicable to all services under the control of the Government of India including posts in Part 'C' States. It was further laid down that if in any year the quota of reserved vacancies is not fully utilized, the balance will be carried forward to the next year, but to no subsequent years. Further concessions in the matter of confirmation, retention in service, increment etc., were also granted to these classes.

260. The rules were further relaxed in 1952, and it was laid down that if the candidates of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Anglo-Indian community obtained by competition a less number of vacancies than are reserved for them, the difference will be made good by the nomination of duly qualified candidates from these communities who have secured lower ranks than others (*vide* Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs Resolution No. 42/21/49-NGS dated the 29th January 1954).

261. The policy of reservation for Scheduled Castes was in force in most of the States prior to the coming into force of the Constitution, and after the 26th January 1950, all States Governments made reservation of posts in their services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under Article 335 of the Constitution of India. The percentages of reservation do not correspond with the population strength of each of these classes uniformly through the States.

262. To ensure proper representation the Government of India (Ministry of Home Affairs) prescribed the maintenance of rosters to indicate the orders in which the recruitment should take place both to reserved and unreserved quotas in the vacancies. They further prescribed grouping of posts, where only a few posts were available for the purpose of representation of these classes. Instructions were issued to all the appointing authorities that the recruitment to the reserved quotas of appointment should be strictly followed and directed that communal returns should be submitted by all the ministries to enable the Government of India to watch over the observance of these orders.

263. The principle of communal representation was reviewed first in August 1947, (*vide* Ministry of Home Affairs Resolution dated the 21st August 1947). It was again reviewed after the promulgation of the Constitution of India and reservation was made only in the case of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Anglo-Indians in the light of the provisions of the Constitution of India, and representation of other minority communities was withdrawn.

264. The claim for representation of backward classes in the State services was voiced early in the south Indian States only. It gained great momentum by the non-Brahman Movement in Bombay, Madras (undivided), Mysore, and to some extent in Travancore-Cochin. There was at one time a recognition by the Bombay Government of the principle that the recruitment of advanced classes should be stopped till an adequate number of backward classes should be recruited to the services. This, however, was not implemented. But the necessity and desirability of recruiting candidates belonging to backward classes was recognised and implemented till the promulgation of the Constitution.

265. In Madras a system of communal rotation was introduced to accord representation to all the recognised backward class groups in order to remove inequalities of representation in services. This was in full force during the Justice Party Ministry under the Montford Reforms.

266. In Mysore the question of removing inequalities of representation in the State services of certain important communities was

recognised as early as 1894. Strict instructions were issued in 1895 that certain reservation of posts should be earmarked for all communities except the Brahmans who till then had a practical monopoly of the entire services. The progress in utilising opportunities was slow. Discontent and dissatisfaction grew with the rising tide of communal consciousness.

267. The whole question was reviewed in 1918 by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Leslie Miller, the then Chief Justice. Accepting the Committee's recommendations the Government directed that the proportion of members of backward communities in all Headquarters and District Offices of all Departments should be raised to fifty per cent of the total strength within seven years. To secure this end, standing instructions were issued to the appointing authorities to give preference to the candidates of the backward communities in making initial appointments, so long as those candidates possessed the prescribed qualifications. The age for entry into service was raised from 25 years to 28 in the case of these communities. A Central Recruitment Board was constituted to watch the progress of the new arrangements. The Government further directed the granting of special educational facilities in the form of freeships, scholarship, and hostel grants to stimulate educational advancement among these classes so that qualified candidates might become available for recruitment.

268. The scheme of recruitment was altered in 1927 as progress was found to be slow, and the proportion of backward community candidates to be recruited was raised to 75 per cent of the total posts available, the remaining 25 per cent being filled up irrespective of communal considerations. Even these instructions were not fully implemented. Seven years later, in 1934, a revised set of rules of recruitment was issued, and the Central Recruitment Board was given greater powers to implement the rules of recruitment. Leading non-official members belonging to various communities were represented on this Board which reviewed the progress of representation of various communities in the State services. The rules of recruitment related only to non-gazetted service. But the same policy was followed by the Government in recruiting persons to the gazetted ranks of the State Services.* It was realized in Mysore early enough that reservation of posts for backward communities did not by itself ensure equitable distribution over the whole range of communities included in this group. In actual practice it was found that the more backward among them did not receive sufficient representation. The Government, therefore, evolved a policy which would give representation to all communities by according representation to the unrepresented first, the under-represented next, and the represented last.

269. The Governments of Travancore and Cochin States before merger had followed a policy of according representation to the several communities in the State approximately in proportion to

*A statement showing the number and percentage of representation of various communities both in the gazetted and non-gazetted services in Mysore is at Appendix VII.

their population. Communal rotation was continued after the formation of Travancore-Cochin State upto 17th November 1952, when new recruitment rules were issued under Article 16(4) of the Constitution.

270. The situation changed to some extent in the case of Bombay, Madras (undivided), and Travancore-Cochin after the promulgation of the Constitution. The Government of Bombay abolished the list of Intermediate communities after 26th January 1950, and continued to accord representation only to the communities mentioned in their list of Other Backward Classes in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. They accorded a reservation of 12.8 per cent of the posts for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes put together in Class I and II posts. In addition Scheduled Castes got 6 per cent and 7 per cent representation in Class III and Class IV services respectively. Similarly, Scheduled Tribes were given 7 per cent and 9 per cent reservation in Class III and Class IV services respectively. They did not adopt any procedure for the even distribution of the reserved posts among the communities comprising these categories. The Government were unable to furnish community-wise figures of representation in Government service.

271. The Government of Madras (undivided) modified their communal G.O. in the light of the decision of the Supreme Court, but subsequently restored reservation under Article 16(4) of the Constitution of India. According to this Order a reservation of five out of every twenty vacancies is made for qualified candidates of backward classes, other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They have also relaxed age restriction and have given fee concessions for admission into competitive examinations. The same rules are now in force in Andhra.

272. In Travancore-Cochin State, under the new rules of recruitment after 17th September 1952, reservation for backward communities was introduced for all grades up to a maximum pay of Rs. 175 per month. Representation on analogous principles is now being given in the case of selection of officers to Travancore-Cochin Civil Service, Munsiffs etc. Thirtyfive per cent of the vacancies are reserved for Other Backward Classes and 10 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They have made a further provision that out of every 20 vacancies, 2 posts should go to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 7 posts to Other Backward Classes. They have also fixed the order in which vacancies could be filled by open competition, or by recruitment from amongst the backward classes group for reserved vacancies. The order also fixes the distribution of reserved posts among the communities in each of the backward classes group in the following proportion:—

Out of every 35 appointments, 13 shall be given to Ezhavas, 5 to Muslims, 3 to Kammalas, 3 to Nadars, 1 to S.I.U.C., 6 to Latin Catholics, 2 to Other Hindus, and 2 to Other Christians. The order also fixes the distribution of these appointments.

273. It is provided in the rules that if no candidate is available from a community when its turn comes, then the vacancy will be

filled by open competition. The community so passed over will get the earliest possible opportunity within a period of 3 years, a corresponding omission being made in the number to be filled up by open competition.

274. It is of interest to consider the case of representation of backward classes in Saurashtra. In 1949, soon after the formation of this State, Government took steps to prescribe certain percentages for recruitment of backward class candidates in certain cadres provided the candidate had the requisite qualifications. The question was reviewed several times, and finding that progress was slow, it was decided to go ahead even at the sacrifice of a certain degree of administrative efficiency. To achieve this end they directed (*vide* their Resolution No. HS/A/4-1(1), dated the 11th November 1953) that:—

- (i) The recruitment and promotions will now be confined to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes until the overall ratios laid down for them in all services are attained. Only when these candidates are not available the recruitment of non-Scheduled Castes will be made.
- (ii) If a Scheduled Caste candidate is available in the lower cadre for promotion, he should be promoted, whatever his rank in the lower cadre, provided he is otherwise suitable. The second promotion to the same persons will not be given out of turn, which is five years unless otherwise done in the ordinary course.
- (iii) There will be separate standard of qualifications for this class, which will be as low as possible, although for technical posts the reduction in qualifications will be limited. For a purely administrative post a Scheduled Castes non-graduate will be accepted if he shows average intelligence, and he will then be trained at Government expense in order to maintain efficiency of service.
- (iv) In the selection posts, the Scheduled Castes personnel otherwise eligible for promotion, except for the condition of selection, will be coached for promotion at Government expense before an opportunity for selection arises.
- (v) Personal servants of Ministers, Secretaries, Heads of Departments, and Gazetted officers, will invariably be recruited from Scheduled Castes.
- (vi) Government will make arrangements for a coaching class or classes on a whole time basis to equip Scheduled Castes candidates for clerical and other services as need arises.
- (vii) The percentages of reservations for Scheduled Castes and backward classes apply also to work-charged establishments and municipalities, and Government grants for municipalities will be conditional upon their carrying out the above condition.
- (viii) All authorities concerned are asked to see that the above principles and policies are carried out scrupulously and are warned that non-observance thereof in any service will be viewed with serious displeasure.

275. The following table gives the percentage of recruitment as ordered in 1949:—

[illegible]

Reviewing the position in 1950, the Government remarked: "That there has not been much effort on the part of all recruiting authorities" to implement the policy of reservation, and impressed on them the responsibility in regard to attainment of percentage laid down in the Government Resolution, and directed them to maintain a list of various services and posts and to check the percentages at regular intervals. It was in February 1951, that the Government fixed the following percentages in modification of the 1949 Order:—

- (1) There will be an over-all ratio in recruitment at 12½ per cent for Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Class candidates. This would apply to posts other than peons.
- (2) In the case of recruitment of peons there will be reservation at 6½ per cent for Scheduled Castes and a similar percentage of reservation for Other Backward Classes. Again in 1953 the Government directed that 5 per cent of vacancies advertised by the Public Service Commission in all categories should be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- (3) Ten per cent of the vacancies could be reserved in all other categories except Class IV posts.
- (4) For Class IV posts, the existing reservation of 6½ per cent for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and 6½ per cent for Other Backward Classes should continue.
- (5) The age limit should be relaxed by five years.

276. The following information furnished by the Government of Saurashtra on the percentage of representation of backward classes in various services indicates poor results in spite of vigorous efforts made:—

Cadre	Number of posts sanctioned	Number of posts held by members of the backward classes (including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes)
Gazetted Officers	65	Nil
Non-Gazetted Officers	9	1
Ministerial	508	58
Menial	350	220

The remaining States in India made no reservation of seats in favour of the Other Backward Classes, and it is not possible to judge the representation of this group in various branches of service without reservation unless caste-wise figures are given. Of these States, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Coorg, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh have furnished us figures indicating that a few of the posts are held by persons belonging to the Other Backward Classes.

277. It should be instructive to consider the degree of implementation in States where reservation of seats for the backward classes has been in force for some years past. In the case of the Government of India where there was reservation of 12½ per cent for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for Scheduled Tribes in All-India Services where recruitment was by open competition, the percentage attained by these two classes is 1.9 and 0.1 respectively as on 1st January 1953. In other services of the Government of India where there was 16-2/3 per cent reservation for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for Scheduled Tribes the degree of implementation is still more revealing. The following table makes this position clear:—

As on 30th June. 1953

Category of posts	Total number of posts	Scheduled Castes			Scheduled Tribes		
		No. of posts due	No. of candidates available	No. of posts actually filled	No. of posts due	No. of candidates available	No. of posts actually filled
Class I	5,751	958	Information not available.	20	287	Information not available.	6
Class II (Gazetted) ..	5,653	942		50	282		18
Class II (non-Gazetted) ..	3,103	517		83	155		3
Class III	5,49,300	91,550		24,819	27,465		2,548
Class IV	7,89,027	1,31,504		161,958	39,451		14,512

278. In Madras where the reservation is 15 per cent for these two classes together the degree of implementation is only 2.45 per cent in gazetted ranks, 6.9 per cent in non-gazetted ranks and 14.25 per cent in the last grade which includes a large number of scavengers and sweepers. In Mysore where the reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is 16.7 per cent, the actual representation is 1.7 per cent in gazetted ranks and 5.08 per cent in non-gazetted services. In Travancore-Cochin the percentage of representation actually achieved is nil in Class I, .44 per cent for Class II, 1.7 per cent for Class III, and 4.02 per cent in Class IV for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes together. The figures simply show that progress must inevitably be gradual. These figures for the south should be accepted as the ratio of normal healthy growth. Other States should be tested on the basis of this ratio of progress. In Bombay, where the percentage of reservation is 12½ per cent for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, the attainment is fairly poor. The situation in other States is bad.

279. The one conclusion to be drawn is that all-out efforts must be made to provide these communities with greater educational facilities and opportunities. Moreover, any infringement in the observance of the rules of recruitment should be severely dealt with, and any loopholes in the rules by which the spirit of fair practices may be passed, should be sealed off, so far as possible.

280. The plea for unimpaired efficiency requires to be examined carefully to find out how and to what extent it is being used to the detriment of the Other Backward Classes. It was once assumed that high academic qualification is the hall-mark of efficiency and is necessary for success in official life. To remedy this one-sided view the personality test was introduced to help the non-Brahman element. But it seems there is discontent about the way the personality test is used. Open competitive examination, although a fair test of efficiency, often times does not help us to select the best man for the job contemplated. It was found necessary, therefore, to balance the results of open competitive examinations by a personality test. This latter test is of great value but cannot be easily measured. There is every likelihood of the examiner arriving at incorrect results on account of his predilections. It is best, therefore, to provide for this personality test, yet, not to give it preponderating weightage. Those who frame rules in this regard should have both these considerations before them, and the rules should be modified from time to time to secure best results and to obviate criticism and heart-burning.

281. Whatever might have been the case in the past, the measuring rod in recruitment of services in a welfare State must be far different. The type of officer that is needed now should be of a different mould altogether. In addition to requisite educational qualifications, he must have broad outlook on life and an innate urge to render more than social justice to the weaker sections of the population. He must have the zeal to mix freely with the masses whom he is serving, so that the gulf between the classes and the masses may disappear.

282. We found no complaint in the States of Madras, Andhra, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore where the system of recruiting candidates from Other Backward Classes to the reserve quota has been in vogue for several decades. The representatives of the upper classes who met the Commission did not complain about any lack of efficiency in such offices. A good many important offices are held by members belonging to the Other Backward Classes, and we found very good co-ordination between the administration and the people. Nevertheless it must be recognised that the environmental conditions of the backward communities are far from conducive to the cultivation of any special aptitude for a purely academic education. There may be some creditable exceptions, but the general body of these classes will always find contest in open competitive examination, especially when of a purely academic character, unequal for many years to come. Adequate educational facilities and proper training after selection will certainly enable them to fill the Government service with a very considerable measure of success.

283. Behind the plea for efficiency there is perhaps a lurking suspicion that a large-scale entry of candidates belonging to backward communities may reduce the monopoly now enjoyed by the advanced

communities in the several branches of Government services. In the final analysis it is fear on the part of the vested interests. The presumption that a human being is incapable of advancement in spite of training, discipline and collaboration is unscientific. Modern psychological investigation finds no justification for discrimination in employment and it is not necessary for us to quote from the U.N.E.S.C.O. literature on this subject. Even in a most enlightened democracy such as the United States, although the principle of equitable treatment of the Negro element in society has been accepted, implementation has been slow. Now, however, the situation has improved, especially since the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to ensure equality of opportunity for the backward Negroes. Conditions in India are different. Here it is not a case of racial discrimination as in the U.S.A. but one of rendering social justice in a caste-ridden society.

284. The educational policy of the British rulers was in the main to train Indians to fill the subordinate ranks of the administrative service. The upper classes, who were in superior social position, naturally took advantage of the facilities offered by the British. Moreover, the educational institutions were nearly all located in cities and towns. No facilities were either created or thought of in the interest of the large body of the rural population. Britishers were interested mainly in the collection of taxes and in the maintenance of law and order, and they needed only such as were able to qualify for these branches of the administration. In fact, the administrators of those days did not encourage any particularly close contact between rulers and ruled. Officers were therefore drawn from the educated middle-classes who were already distinct from the class of manual labourers. Thus a gulf was created between those in administrative services and the masses at large. This suited the foreign administrators admirably and they continued the policy for a long time. With the growth of political consciousness and the agitation by the people of India for a share in the administration, a safety valve was found in according representation to the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Castes. In the South, the movement for the amelioration of the backward classes resulted in the special recruitment of these classes to Government service. Conditions have completely changed since independence. India has come into its own, and there is now a readiness to render social justice to all sections of the people. Moreover, the country has assumed the role of a Welfare State, and the administrative services have necessarily to assume a larger role than was previously assigned to them. The scope is so widened that there is no aspect of life which does not come in contact with the administrative services in one capacity or another. The increasing tempo of developmental activity has necessitated a corresponding increase in the strength of the services. In its wake it has also brought recruitment of varied types of people to fit into the new character assumed by the State.

285. It is relevant in this connection to quote the observations made in the report of the Committee of Direction for the All-India Rural Credit Survey on page 525:

"As we have already emphasized, not only the training but also the recruitment of the personnel will have to be looked at

from the point of view of the new functions. Thus, a capacity for sympathy, understanding and responsiveness, in the sense in which we have used those terms in relation to the rural environment and to the needs of different rural classes, should be among the qualities to which importance should be attached in recruiting new candidates. For unless that capacity is initially present and is fostered and encouraged at all stages, the warning would be relevant that 'to exchange the landlord for the tax-gatherer, the merchant for the agent of State monopolies and the money-lender for the state bank official may prove to be not progress but enslavement'. To the extent that official attitude are rigid, unresponsive and unimaginative, they will stultify progress in every one of the directions envisaged. In particular, they will be fatal to the objective of evolving State-partnered co-operative institutions, especially at the rural level, into fully co-operative institutions at the earliest possible stage. Moreover, it is here that the administrator and the official will be called upon to discharge the extremely difficult task of helping others to help themselves; in other words, while doing important work as an officer of Government, yet so to perform it as to make himself dispensable within the shortest possible time."

286. We have referred elsewhere in our Report to the provisions of the Constitution ensuring special protection of weaker sections of the population and for providing reservation of posts for all the classes who are socially and educationally backward. The Constitution has also emphasised the need of rendering social justice to various communities. Moreover, the principle of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has already been accepted and acted upon throughout India. In some of the South Indian States and in Bombay reservation for the backward classes has been in operation for many years. The aspiration, therefore, of the Other Backward Classes to obtain an adequate share in the services of their country is only natural. Their claim for representation is long overdue in many of the north Indian States. Unless the services are manned by a fair proportion of the candidates belonging to backward class groups, they will not inspire confidence. Securing the confidence of the masses is so necessary to the new role assumed by the State, that unless this is done, the administrative machinery cannot become an instrument to implement the policy of a Welfare State. It is no longer possible to disregard the claims for adequate representation of all the communities belonging to the backward classes.

287. The apprehensions entertained by some of the advanced classes that they will be wiped out of existence by the reservation of a large percentage of posts for backward classes are really unfounded. Nobody ever proposed to disband or replace the existing personnel with a view to recruiting candidates from the backward classes. What is demanded is that a certain quota of vacancies that arise hereafter should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes as they are not yet confident of the results of an open competition. It may be remembered that when compared to the large number of posts already held by the upper classes the number of vacancies that arise from

time to time or are likely to arise is exceedingly small. Even here a certain percentage is always open for recruitment through open competitive examination. Persons who are already in service will continue to remain till the period of superannuation. The process of drawing into the services a fair proportion of backward communities is inherently slow. As figures furnished by the Government of Mysore indicate, it took a period of 30 years to reduce the percentage of Brahmans from 69 per cent to about 39 per cent. The expanding scope of employment also opens out further avenues to all, including the advanced classes, in the quota thrown open for competition. There is, therefore, no fear of their total number being appreciably reduced in the near future.

288. Some of the representatives of the advanced classes in north Indian States expressed the fear that the reservation of seats for backward classes might perpetuate casteism and that the privilege once granted could not be withdrawn later. The very opposite is unfortunately the case. It is casteism that is keeping these backward classes from participation in administrative services. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in his address to the Congress Parliamentary Party on December 2, 1954, remarked as follows:—

“We have never been a united nation in the real sense of the word in the past. We have had united urges. The way we tend to disrupt is amazing—whether it is provincialism, whether it is Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. We have not yet developed the outlook of a united nation. We felt that we have reached our goal and we can allow disruptive tendencies to exist. We have always to fight it, whether it is provincialism or communalism or casteism. I will lay a special emphasis on casteism because, it is a most dangerous tendency. We talk about casteism and we condemn it as we should. But the fact remains that half a dozen, or may be 10, so-called superior castes dominate the Indian scene among the Hindus. There is no doubt about it. And if I talk about the removal of casteism, don't understand by that that I want to perpetuate the present classification, some people at the top and the other people at the bottom. If we don't equalise or tend to equalise, undoubtedly, casteism will flourish in a most dangerous way. It will not really be a casteism of the old type, but will be of a new type”.

These are pregnant words which every patriot should ponder. The feeling of caste may persist for some years. But as and when educated members of the Other Backward Classes become available in larger numbers, then a spirit of competition even among themselves will naturally appear and it is hoped that the edge of communal feeling will wear away. On the other hand, refusal to recognize this new urge will only accentuate caste feelings and leave a trail of bitterness in the minds of these communities. The movement in the south which was originally communal shed its communal outlook in the wider movement of nationalism. It is safer to recognize the spirit of the times and remove all causes for bitterness. In the course of a few years the communities themselves will realize the need for widening their own outlook. The impression should not be created that the

privileges were wrenched from the hands of the upper castes; it must be made clear that privileges were shared with the greatest amount of goodwill.

289. The scale of pay in Government service, security of employment, power and prestige and the scope to distribute patronage, all have combined to make Government services highly attractive and consequently greatly desired. The introduction of adult franchise has virtually transferred power to the masses; there is therefore every justification for their aspiration for a place in the actual governance of the country. One way to lessen this keen desire for governmental services is to render them as unattractive as possible by reducing emoluments. Social justice and communal harmony both demand that the present alarming disparity between the scales of pay of the lowest and the highest appointments should be reduced. As an immediate step of a modest character, the ratio between the emoluments of the lowest and those of the highest paid persons may be reduced to 1 : 20. But this ratio must ultimately be brought down to 1 : 10. Then only will the charm attached to Government services begin to disappear.

290. So long as the present state of affairs continues, claims of Other Backward Classes for representation in the services must be recognized. The question that comes next is the quantum of representation that may be accorded to the Other Backward Classes without disturbing the efficiency of the services. We are in no way inclined to allow efficiency to suffer. But we want the maintenance of efficiency in conjunction with the rendering of social justice to all sections of the population. We are, therefore, of the opinion that open competition for securing the best candidates without any caste consideration should be the rule; also in the sector of reservation the best alone amongst the qualified backward classes should be recruited. In considering the question of quantum of representation several views were expressed. One view was that a small percentage of the vacancies may be reserved in the beginning with a promise to raise it as and when a sufficient number of candidates becomes available. Another view was that in the larger interest of the services, fifty per cent of the vacancies should be filled by open competition, leaving the rest for distribution among all the three backward class groups. Another reason was given for this view, namely, that the advanced classes have no other occupations to take to in the immediate future as they have not been trained for any other type of activity. Still another view was that as some of the more brilliant candidates from the backward communities would probably obtain places in the quota thrown open for competition, there is no need for reducing the quota reserved for open competition. On the other hand, the demand on behalf of the Other Backward Classes was that a larger percentage should be reserved for them to compensate for the lack of opportunity under which they have so long laboured, and that the inequality of representation in the existing services should be reduced as speedily as possible in the interest of communal harmony. The representatives of the Other Backward Classes in all the States insisted that reservation should be in proportion to the population of each caste or group of castes, and that that is the least they expect from the Government. The memorandum submitted by the President of the All-India Backward Classes Federation has pleaded for a reservation of 60 per cent

of the vacancies for the Other Backward Classes. Instances of small or no representation of backward classes in some of the North-Indian States were put forward to justify the claim for weightage to reduce the disparity now obtaining in the services. We gave anxious thought to all points of view and have come to the conclusion that it is good, under the circumstances, to recognize the principle of reservation of seats for the best among the qualified candidates of all backward communities. The next question is one of quantum of representation. While considering this we have kept in view the interest of the State, the efficient running of the administrative machinery and the increasing role of welfare that the administrative services have now to take in relation to the masses of the country. We have also kept in view the long period that is required to get a fair representation for these communities. We, therefore, recommend that where education is sufficiently high among the communities, the reservation should be in proportion to the population of the communities of the Other Backward Classes. We are conscious that this percentage varies from State to State, and in some States the population of backward communities put together is unduly large. The principle of reservation in proportion to the population is already conceded in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In cases where it does not leave sufficient scope for highly qualified candidates to come into the services we have thought it reasonable to reduce the percentage of reservation. On consideration of all these factors we recommend, as decided by majority, that the minimum basis of representation of Other Backward Classes in all Government and Local body services will be as follows:—

Class I—25 per cent of vacancies.

Class II—33-1/3 per cent of vacancies.

Class III }
Class IV } —40 per cent of vacancies.

The whole position of the adequacy of representation of Other Backward Classes may be reviewed at the end of ten years in the light of statistics then available as a result of 1961 or earlier Census regarding the population of communities listed by the Commission in Other Backward Classes group.

291. There was a divergence of opinion with regard to the method of recruitment to the reserved quota of services. One view was that the best candidates from the communities of the Other Backward Classes group should be selected after a personal interview and nominated to the vacancies. Another view was that these candidates should take their chances in the open competitive examinations and that the best from among those who have passed the examination, even though they secure lower ranks, should be selected. Whatever the procedure of recruitment, whether through open competition or through selection or personal interview for any type of appointment—temporary or permanent the reservation suggested should be secured in favour of candidates of the Other Backward Classes group. Strict adherence to rules of recruitment, with a severe penalty for any breach thereof is the best remedy.

292. Another important question which came up for consideration in this connection was the equitable distribution of the reserved quota of posts among all the communities comprising the Other Backward Classes group. Divergent opinions were also expressed on this

subject. Some thought that it is a very cumbersome procedure to distribute vacancies among all the communities. According to others it was possible with a little more effort to ensure an equitable distribution of posts so that even the most backward would have some representation in Government Service. We studied the procedure that has been followed in some of the States. The practice is not uniform. In Bombay the three categories of backward classes are considered together and the available candidate is chosen for the vacancy. The question has not arisen in other States because the question of representation of Other Backward Classes has not been considered at all by them. Madras once followed a system of communal rotation, whereby even the most backward communities among the Other Backward Classes had some chance of representation, however distant. Travancore-Cochin has adopted a system whereby communities or groups of communities are taken by turn for representation in service in the prescribed quota for each group. This has opened up some chances to all the communities in the Other Backward Classes group. In Mysore a system has been evolved over a period of years whereby each community with a population of over a lakh is considered as a distinct group for the purpose of representation in the reserved quota, smaller communities being grouped together for the same purpose. The Public Service Commission in that State maintains lists of these communities for the purpose of guidance showing the percentage of representation already obtained. The first vacancy invariably goes to the most unrepresented, second to the under-represented and the third to the represented and so on. Thus, representation of almost all the communities is ensured by a system of rotation. An annual review of the position is made and statistics published.

293. We had to consider this suggestion in somewhat greater detail, not because it is not practicable, but because it is equitable. Many representatives warned us that unless some such method is devised, it is likely that the more advanced among the Other Backward Classes will get all the representation and the most backward will be left out. This would perpetuate the very system which was attempting to remedy and, therefore, it is essential that a suitable method should be devised to ensure equitable representation of all the communities in the Other Backward Classes group. We do not propose to lay down a hard and fast rule for all the States. But the circumstances and the social conditions that prevail in the country necessitate greater consideration for the most backward and under-represented communities in this group. That can only be ensured by some system of rotation worked out in the conditions prevailing in the respective States. We recommend, however, that communities be conveniently grouped according to the degree of their advancement in each State and representation out of the reserved quota be granted beginning with the most unrepresented groups. This need not be adhered to for all time. After a period of 10 years the question should be reviewed.

294. We recognize that only the best qualified candidates should be accepted in the technical services. There is at present a paucity of such candidates from among the Other Backward Classes. We have recommended elsewhere that students belonging to the Other Backward Classes should be increasingly given facilities at educational

and more especially at technical institutions. And it should be a fixed policy for many years that, qualifications being fairly equal, preference should be given to a candidate from the backward classes.

295. One view was that candidates belonging to backward classes should be provided with facilities through coaching classes before they appear in the competitive examination. Another view was that qualified candidates should be selected for appointment and thereafter trained for the specific kind of service to which they were appointed during the period of probation.

296. We recommend that in cases where such training is needed to improve efficiency among candidates after they are selected to various posts, they should be given training for a year or two during the period of probation.

297. Representatives of Scheduled Castes and Tribes as well as of the Other Backward Classes demanded representation of the backward classes on Public Service Commissions. We carefully and thoroughly examined this suggestion.

One view was that there should be definite reservation for backward classes in the appointment of members of Public Service Commissions.

Second view was that in the selection of members for Public Service Commissions the claims of backward classes should be kept in mind and it was also felt that other things being equal, members of the backward classes should be given preference.

In answer to this our attention was drawn to cases where persons from backward classes have already been appointed; and we feel that such appointments should continue on as liberal a scale as possible.

We recognize that Governments have always to allay the apprehensions in the minds of the backward classes on this score, and yet our conclusion is that in the appointments of members to the Public Service Commissions, caste or community considerations should not have any place whatsoever and the persons should be selected solely on merits.

298. Many suggestions were offered for the creation of a machinery for the proper implementation of the policy of recruitment to Government service. The most important of these was that a Board should be established with sufficient powers to enforce full and proper implementation of the policy of reservation recommended by us in the foregoing paragraphs. It was furthermore urged that this Board should also have powers to consider any complaints from the non-backward classes in the unreserved sector of employment in Government services.

299. We, therefore, recommend that a Board consisting of a small body of trained and experienced administrators and social workers with sufficient powers be set up for this purpose. The precise powers and functions of the Board will have to be carefully worked out to ensure that the above policy is properly implemented.

CHAPTER VII

MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF BACKWARD CLASSES

The problems of backward classes have assumed considerable importance since the advent of freedom. Special provisions are incorporated in the Constitution of India for looking after the interests of these classes and for their uplift. With the appointment of this Commission public attention has been sufficiently focussed on the plight of these classes and on the urgency of ameliorative measures if these people are to take their place along with the comparatively advanced sections of the population. Conditions of society in India necessitate not only measure for economic uplift but also steps in the direction of removal of social inequalities with a view to achieving the ideal of a casteless and classless society. The Parliament and the Indian National Congress have now adopted socialistic pattern of society to be established in the country. The task of achieving this objective is of no mean order. It requires initiative, drive and constant vigilance to safeguard the interests of the weaker sections of the population.

2. Provision is made in the Constitution of India under Article 338 for the appointment of a Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by the President. He is invested with the duty of investigating all matters relating to safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and is to report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament. In sub-clause (iii) of the same Article it is laid down that "references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such Other Backward Classes as the President may, on the receipt of the report of a Commission, appointed under clause (1) of Article 340, by order specify". It is, therefore, clear that the Constitution has recognised the importance of this problem. The functions of the Special Officer under the Constitution are limited, and he has indicated in his reports to the President how progress is hampered by the delays in implementing the policies.

3. The Constitution of India under Article 164(1) makes provision for the appointment of Ministers to be incharge of Tribal Welfare, who may in addition be incharge of the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes in the case of States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa and in the case of Madhya Bharat under Article 238(6). Provision of a similiar nature is not made in the case of other States. But in view of the importance of uplift of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes separate departments or sections under "Developments" have been created in most of the States for the administration of welfare measures.

4. We have noted in appropriate places in our Report the growing awakening among the backward classes and a feeling of uneasiness that has come over them for lack of facilities for advancement in all spheres of life and its activities. We have also indicated that unless

the problems are tackled on a footing of urgency on a vaster scale than what is being done at present, anti-social elements are likely to exploit discontent and foster disruptive tendencies. It is, therefore, necessary that all-out efforts should be made both by the Government of India and the State Governments to handle this problem in a more effective and co-ordinated manner. To this end we recommend the creation of Ministry for the advancement of all the backward classes both at the Centre and in all the States just as there was a Ministry for Rehabilitation appointed when emergency arose. The function of this Ministry will be to co-ordinate the work of uplift measures which are being executed by various agencies. It should also see that specific schemes are drawn up for their advancement and adequate finances are provided for their implementation. Sanctioning of schemes, allotment of funds, co-ordination of work, training of personnel etc. all need the watchful care of a full-fledged Department under this Ministry. We further suggest that in view of the prevailing opinion this Department should have distinct sections, each administering the affairs of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes separately. Funds allotted must in the first instance be separately earmarked and the expenditure must also be separately debited. For, in the very nature of things, schemes of welfare differ from one class to another, and the amount required will be more in the case of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the starred communities of Other Backward Classes. The ultimate aim, however, is to integrate all these groups into the general society, and when there is sufficient general advancement, the affairs of these classes may be administered as one unit. After the next elections the three categories will come much closer together.

5. The work of this Department will necessarily be varied in nature and large in scope. A great degree of co-ordination between the Departments of States and the Centre will have to be brought about and the schemes pushed through with expedition. This would be possible only by the constitution of a separate Ministry with a separate Department for the welfare of all the backward classes uniformly both at the Centre and in the States.

CONSTITUTION OF AN ADVISORY BOARD

6. The work of the Ministry and of the Department for the advancement of backward classes necessarily requires constant consultations with leaders of public opinion, well tried social servants and some representatives of these backward classes. We, therefore, recommend the constitution of an Advisory Board both at the Centre and in each State to assist the Ministry in the administration of welfare measures. Major questions of policy and specific schemes for uplift may be placed before this Board for eliciting opinion. The Board will be of an advisory capacity.

7. The powers and functions of this Board may be worked out in detail by the Government of India.

8. We recommend further that the Ministry for the advancement of backward classes both at the Centre and in the States should have sufficient powers to co-ordinate the work of welfare done in

various States, and in particular the following should be its special concern:—

- (i) All educational problems.
- (ii) Rural housing schemes.
- (iii) Representation in services under Government and Local Bodies.
- (iv) Administration of grants for welfare measures.
- (v) Provision of full employment in rural areas.



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CHAPTER VIII

GRANTS

One of the terms of reference requires from the Commission recommendations "as to the grants by the Union or any State that should be made for the purpose of taking steps to remove the difficulties under which Other Backward Classes labour or to improve their conditions and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made". We have to consider, therefore, the question of grants in relation to measures that should be taken to remove the difficulties that these classes are facing. We examined the ameliorative measures undertaken by the Government of India and State Governments in the interest of backward classes, and the expenditure incurred by them. We have not been able to obtain from most of the States separate figures of expenditure exclusively for Other Backward Classes:—

State	(In lakhs) Expenditure in 1952-53		
	S.Cs.	S.Ts.	O.B.Cs. (1953-54)
Andhra	Nil	Nil	4.36
Assam	9.11	90.34	2.49
Bihar	14.35	44.96	10.26
Bombay	24.71	53.37	50.15
Madhya Pradesh	1.24	37.05	.77
Madras	126.18	25.36	41.25
Orissa	Nil	29.52	Nil
Punjab	5.52	1.20	Nil
Uttar Pradesh	49.62	Nil	6.29
West Bengal	8.24	12.18	5.86
Hyderabad	5.23	2.83	1.70
Madhya Bharat	5.47	25.40	Nil
Mysore	6.94	.15	9.14
P. E. P. S. U.	7.93	Nil	Nil
Rajasthan	1.19	37.16	Not available.
Saurashtra	3.92	1.43	6.44
Travancore-Cochin	9.52	.40	8.71
Ajmer .. .. .	.25	.87	Nil
Bhopal .. .. .	.18	2.00	.05
Coorg .. .. .	.50	.10	.06
Delhi	1.20	Nil	Not available.
Himachal Pradesh	2.45	.33	Not available.
Kutch .. .. .	.44	1.00	3.47
Manipur	Nil	6.00	Not available.
Tripura	Nil	4.00	Not available.
Vindhya Pradesh .. .. .	.82	4.25	Nil
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.
	285.01	379.90	151.00

Most of the States incur expenditure at present for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes only. Only a few States have got ameliorative measures mainly in the form of educational aid to Other Backward

Classes. The expenditure on Other Backward Classes is limited to (1) freeships, scholarships and stipends for books and clothing; (2) grants and aids to hostels and construction of hostel buildings; (3) contributions to social institutions in their expenditure on the welfare of these classes. Expenditure on ameliorative measures in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes gives a valuable guidance in fixing grants for Other Backward Classes. The Planning Commission, in their Progress Report for 1953-54 have given the following figures on page 266:—

	(Rupees in lakhs)			
	1951—56 Plan provision	1951-52 Actuals	1952-53 Actuals	1953-54 Revised
From States Provision	2,388.6	325.10	391.10	474.10
*From Centre's Grants				
(a) For Scheduled Tribes & Schedu- led Areas under Art. 275(1).	1,500.00	141.07	176.08	287.76 (Sanctioned)
(b) For Scheduled Castes ..	400.00			18.18 (Sanctioned)
(c) For Ex-Criminal Tribes ..				18.18 (Sanctioned)
(d) For Other Backward Classes ..				9.66 (Sanctioned)

2. Besides ameliorative measures and the expenditure incurred for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the same Report, the following paragraph appears on page 270:—

“Other Backward Classes: The report of the Backward Classes Commission is still awaited. Meanwhile, these classes also have been helped educationally and economically. 20,363† scholarships were awarded in 1953-54. One hundred and eighty one schools were opened and hostel accommodation was provided for 1926 students”.

3. It is, thus, clear that sufficient provision has not yet been made as the Planning Commission awaited the Report of this Commission. The Commission also had the benefit of discussing the problems of Other Backward Classes with Shri S. K. Dey, Community Projects' Administrator. He indicated that at present no specific provision is made for the amelioration of Other Backward Classes as such, and that measures under the First Five Year Plan are contemplated in the interest of all people of course including the backward people who are in the majority in rural areas.

4. It is argued sometimes that the problem of backward classes is the problem of the nation in view of the vast numbers involved and that it will be difficult, therefore, to make specific and definite

* Out of 19 crores Central Grant only Rs. 7 crores have been included in the Plan. The rest is given from the Consolidated Fund of India under Article 275(1) of the Constitution.

† These figures relate to Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Saurashtra and Madras.

provision for the amelioration of Other Backward Classes exclusively. But in the prevailing conditions of India, and particularly because of her caste-ridden society, some of the general uplift measures do not reach the weaker sections of the population and even where they do reach the lower strata of society they trickle down in very small proportions. It is generally the strong and the most vocal that manage to snatch most of the help. It is, therefore, necessary that special provision should be made specifically for those communities that are extremely backward educationally and socially. We notice that in the Budget estimates for the year 1955-56, the Government of India have, for the first time, made a separate provision of a sum of only Rs. 160 lakhs for the Other Backward Classes. But we are of the opinion that since the problem is vast and has been left untackled in the past, a much larger provision has to be made in the years to come so that backwardness may be removed speedily. According to our estimate on the basis of a period of five years, the minimum amount required for the purpose would be of the order of Rs. 200 crores as detailed in the following pages. Most of the measures we discussed in the previous chapters are general in character and would not only help the Other Backward Classes but would also strengthen the general economy of the country. We recommended specially the following for early action in the interest of backward classes:—

(i) *Educational Aid*—The urgent need should be recognised for the immediate introduction of Basic Schools and for converting existing elementary schools into the Basic pattern in the rural areas.

In any scheme of liquidation of educational backwardness special efforts must be made to draw the children of backward classes to these institutions. In view of the extreme poverty they require special grants for books, writing materials and clothing. In many cases the cost of implements required for studies in Basic Schools should also be provided for. Out of a total population of children of school going age (6—14 years) of approximately 4½ crores according to the figures supplied by the Education Department, already 192 lakhs of boys and girls are on the rolls in 1952-53. The roughly estimated figures of the population of backward class boys and girls in these primary institutions was 57 lakhs in 1951. With increased facilities in the meanwhile, and also as a result of the extensive aid that we propose for them, we think the number of such boys and girls could be safely estimated to be 100 lakhs of backward classes of all varieties and 70 lakhs of the Other Backward Classes. Of these about 50 per cent would need financial aid for purchase of books and clothing. In view of the small number of Basic Schools we have assumed that only a limited number would be in those institutions. Of these about 25 per cent need implements for Basic study. A lump sum grant of Rs. 6 for books aid, Rs. 20 for clothing and Rs. 10 for purchase of implements per head per annum is provided.

Senior Basic of Secondary Course

In the light of the figures available for the year 1952-53 we have assumed that in this stage of education, about 2.8 lakh students require educational aid under the following heads:—

- (i) Book-aid to boys and girls at Rs. 50 each per annum.
- (ii) Fee concessions at Rs. 25 each per annum.

- (iii) Scholarships (hostel expenses to Secondary School boys and girls of about 1.4 lakhs at Rs. 200 each per annum).

Post Basic or Post Matric Education

(1) We assume that at least about 90,000 students requiring financial assistance are likely to be in the Post-Basic or Post-Matric courses including general, scientific and technical lines. Stipends for these at an average rate of Rs. 600 each per annum is provided for.

(2) Similarly we have made a provision for 500 students who are likely to take post-graduate courses and also in Research centres in India at the rate of Rs. 5,000 each for the full course.

(3) In view of the importance attached to training of qualified candidates in advanced courses in foreign Universities, we have made a provision for overseas education for 150 students at the rate of Rs. 20,000 each for the full course of studies.

5. We have advocated elsewhere in the Report the establishment of *Samata Ashrams*, or *Ashrams* for the eradication of caste prejudices and to bring about social harmony. Provision for this purpose is made under the following heads:—

- (a) Grant-in-aid for *Samata Ashrams* for about 2.3 lakh students of Other Backward Classes, at the rate of Rs. 60 each per annum. This is meant for accommodation.
- (b) New *Samata* hostels in rural areas for 2 lakh boys, each hostel accommodating 50 boys. Four hundred such hostels are proposed each at a cost of Rs. 25,000. The establishment of hostels may be based on phased programme.

6. In view of the extreme backwardness of women of rural areas and especially those of Other Backward Classes, we have thought it necessary that special provision should be made for their education in crafts and home sciences. As we were not in a position to determine exactly the number that needed special help, we have made lump sum provision under the following heads:—

- (i) Adult women (arts, crafts and home science).
- (ii) Girls of 10—14 years age-group (arts, crafts and home science).
- (iii) Advanced courses of education for women in teaching, nursing and social welfare work.

7. Measures for the care and uplift of unfortunate women, neglected children, nomadic communities, professional beggars, and denotified communities, are in our opinion, equally necessary and urgent. We have made provision for the establishment of separate rescue homes for neglected children, for unfortunate women, for colonies for beggars and nomadic communities.

8. The organisation of social service agencies must be non-political and non-communal in outlook, and should work for bringing about communal harmony and social solidarity. We have provided lump sum provision for grant-in-aid to such institutions.

7. In view of the acute housing shortage in rural areas we have recommended a planned programme of rural housing for the backward classes. We have suggested that steps should be taken for the

construction of 50 lakhs houses in the next ten years. We have recommended subsidy to the extent of 75 per cent of the cost of the house in the case of 5 per cent of the housing programme and for the rest we have recommended a loan only recoverable in easy instalments. This undertaking may require a loan of 50 crores annually and we have provided only interest charges as loans are intended to be given to the poorer sections free of interest.

10. While dealing with cottage industries and village handicrafts we have dealt with the question of credit facility for those who are engaged in those industries. Non-availability of credit has been a serious handicap in the way of resuscitating cottage industries. We have proposed a loan of 100 crores to be distributed through normal channels working for their uplift. Here we have merely provided for interest charges under grants on the loan investment of Rs. 100 crores.

11. *Conditions of Grants*—We have been asked to suggest conditions subject to which grants should be made. Though a few representatives suggested the pooling of all resources earmarked for the amelioration of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, we are for the present not in favour of such a policy in view of the strong opinion held by representatives of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes against such a course. We are, therefore, in favour of a separate allotment of funds for each one of these groups, till such time as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes come up to the level of Other Backward Classes.

12. The allotment of funds for the amelioration of Other Backward Classes should be on the basis of projects and schemes approved by a special organization which we have suggested both at the Centre and in the States.

13. Funds allotted by the Government of India for various schemes should be generally distributed to the States on the basis of population of backward classes in each State. A further consideration should be borne in mind, namely that certain States are themselves so backward that they cannot afford to supply an environment of advancement even if they are helped to spend liberally. Special grants will have to be given to such States. This is true in the case of border States whose backwardness constitutes a danger to the safety of India. Backward States that are not on the border of India should not be regarded as safe, because they give rise to internal danger of social mal-adjustment and resultant disorders. These States also should be openly taken care of. It is not enough to give them liberal grants, but special efforts must be made to appoint statement with vision and strength to lay down the policy of a plan of work. The schemes drawn up by the States and approved by the Centre must also conform to the general policy laid down by the organisation at the Centre. In the States out of the allotment made a further distribution (as far as possible on the basis of population of communities of Other Backward Classes) should be made. While doing this the interests of these extremely backward communities starred in the list of Other Backward Classes should be given preference in the matter of receiving State help.

14. The grants should be earmarked for specific schemes and continued from year to year as a fixed charge on the Consolidated

Fund of India. Any unspent balance of one year should be reallocated for expenditure in the following years. This procedure is necessitated by the fact that if money earmarked for developmental expenditure is not fully spent and part of it is allowed to lapse.

15. In proposing grants we are unable to fix the share of expenditure by the State Governments. During our enquiry we tried to elicit the capacity of State Governments to make provision for the scheme for the uplift of Other Backward Classes. They invariably pleaded financial stringency and in some States even lack of trained personnel to undertake schemes on the suggested scales. We have considered the whole aspect in relation to the capacity of the State Governments to make adequate provisions for ameliorative measures for the Other Backward Classes on the scale we have recommended, and have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the Government of India should come to the aid of the State Governments in a generous measure in allotting grants or subsidies for the success of these measures; and the States should instead of insisting on their autonomy be prepared to accept the policy of the Centre. We are unable to indicate the portion of expenditure to be borne by each State as the States were not in a position to commit themselves for any extra expenditure in this behalf. We have, therefore, contended ourselves with merely indicating the total sum of money required under various heads. We leave to the Government of India to determine the share of expenditure they or the State Governments have to bear.

16. In the various chapters of the Report we have made our suggestions for the amelioration of the backward classes. We give here a brief summary of our recommendations in the financial setting, so that they may be given preference at the time of assessment of schemes for sanction out of the additional funds mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

	Approximate cost Rupees in lakhs		Para of Report
	Recurring expendi- ture	Capital expendi- ture or non- recurring	
	1	2	3
1. JUNIOR BASIC—			
Provision for 70 lakh "Other Backward Class children going to school" (primary stage).			
(i) Book-aid needed for 50% only @ Rs. 6 per annum	210	..	..
(ii) Clothing aid needed for 25% only @ Rs. 20 per annum.	350	..	..
(iii) Implements for Basic students @ Rs. 10 25% boys. 17.5 lakhs.	175	..	..

	1	2	3
2. SECONDARY OR SENIOR BASIC—			
(i) Book-aid to 2.8 lakhs boys and girls @ Rs. 50 each per annum.	140	..	..
(ii) Fee concession for the same number @ Rs. 25 each per annum.	70	..	..
(iii) Scholarship—(Hostel expenses for half the number to nearly 1.4 lakh boys and girls in Secondary Schools @ Rs. 200 each per annum.	280	..	..
3. POST BASIC FAILING WHICH POST MATRIC—			
(i) Stipends for boys and girls in general scientific and technical lines (Post-Matric) for 90,000 students on an average @ Rs. 600.	540	..	..
(ii) Provision of scholarships for post-graduate studies and research in the country for 500 scholars (full course) @ Rs. 5,000.	25	..	..
(iii) Overseas education for 150 students @ Rs. 20,000 average (full course).	30	..	..
4. SAMATA ASHRAM (HOSTELS)—			
(i) Grant-in-aid for rent and establishment for hostels for 2.0 lakhs Other Backward Class boys @ Rs. 60 per annum.	120	..	..
(ii) <i>New Samata</i> —Hostels in rural areas for 2 lakh boys, each hostel accommodating 50 boys. 4,000 such hostels each at a cost of Rs. 25,000 only 800 hostels every year (Increase of 20% is not contemplated in this).	..	1000	..
5. EDUCATION FOR BACKWARD CLASS WOMEN—			
Special provision for education of Other Backward Classes in schools for Home Science.			
(i) Adult women (in arts, crafts and home science)	25	..	..
(ii) Girls of ten to fourteen years age group	25	..	..
(iii) Advanced education for women in courses for teaching, nursing, social and welfare work etc.	50	..	..
6. HOME FOR NEGLECTED POPULATION—			
Special education homes in rural areas for delinquent children, unfortunate women, ex-criminal tribes, professional beggars and nomadic communities.			
(i) 50 Homes with 100 neglected children in each:			
Capital expenditure @ Rs. 50,000 .. ..	..	25	..
Recurring expenditure @ Rs. 20,000	10	..	..
(ii) 50 Homes with 100 inmates for unfortunate women:			
Capital expenditure @ Rs. 50,000 each .. ..	..	25	..
Recurring expenditure @ Rs. 20,000 each	10	..	..
(iii) Colonies for reclaiming beggars and nomadic tribes:			
Capital expenditure lump sum .. ..	..	25	..
Recurring expenditure	10	..	..
(iv) Colonies for ex-criminal tribes:			
Capital expenditure .. ..	..	25	..
Recurring expenditure	10	..	..

	1	2	3
7. SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES FOR BACKWARD COMMUNITIES—			
Provision for non-political and non-communal social service agencies, working amongst the Other Backward Classes.	54	..	..
8. LOANS AND SUBSIDIES FOR RURAL HOUSING PROGRAMME—			
Rural housing programme; target 50 lakh houses in 10 years @ Rs. 1,000 each.	..	50,00	..
(i) Interest charges on the capital outlay on loans to rural housing at Rs. 50 crores annually.	150	..	..
(ii) 75 per cent subsidy to 5 per cent houses for indigent persons.	187.5	..	..
9. HELP TO BACKWARD COMMUNITIES EMPLOYED IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES—			
Credit facilities for cottage industries			
(i) Capital outlay Rs. 100 crores interest free credit facilities.	..	100,00	..
(ii) Interest charges	300	..	..
Total ..	Rs. 2771.5 lakhs	161,00 lakhs	

The outlay during the first year will involve a capital expenditure of about Rs. 161 crores and recurring expenditure of about Rs. 27.71 crores. So far as the housing scheme is concerned, there will be an annual addition to the interest charges on account of the increase in the capital at the rate of Rs. 50 crores every year.

The expenditure under the first seven heads is to be increased at the rate of 20 per cent every year during the next five years. Roughly the total expenditure for the five year period will be on the order of Rs. 200 crores excluding the capital outlay of Rs. 361 crores on housing and cottage industries credit facilities.

We have suggested the above grants for the Other Backward Classes only but we expect that provision on a similar scale would be made for the benefit of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes also.

CHAPTER IX

REVISION OF LISTS OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The President of India was pleased to direct the Commission to examine the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as already published under his order and to suggest any revision of those lists, if on enquiry it was found that such a revision was necessary. We undertook the enquiry to this limited extent and collected a mass of material, and also heard the representatives of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on this aspect. In view of the pending legislation on the amendment to the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952, in Parliament, we were requested to submit an Interim Report containing the revised lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, which report we sent on 20th December 1954.

2. It will be seen from the revised lists that in some cases fresh additions have been made and in other cases certain communities on the list of Scheduled Castes have been transferred to the list of Scheduled Tribes. These changes were necessitated by a careful verification of materials collected by us. We have invariably been helped in this task by the State Governments or by the opinion of Adimjati Sevak Sangh or by references in the Reports published by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In view of the Delimitation Commission concluding its labours before they could have the benefit of our revision, anxiety was expressed in certain quarters whether the submission of the revised lists of these two classes would not be too late to secure for them the political representation guaranteed under Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution. That anxiety has been minimised now by the timely amendment to the Delimitation Commission Act and incorporation of a provision for the re-determination of seats for Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes on collection of Census figures arising out of any mistake or omission before the 1st January 1956. We hope that our Interim Report (with the revised lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) has served its purpose.

3. It must be borne in mind in this connection that reservation of seats in legislatures for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is only for a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution under Article 334. To secure increased representation on the basis of the Revised Lists for the remaining period—when only one general election may take place—it is essential that steps be taken to amend the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, and the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, as also the corresponding orders relating to Part 'C' States. It will not be difficult to estimate the population figures of the communities recommended to be included or excluded. Final figures thus arrived at for each State will form the basis for representation either in Parliament or in the State Legislatures. It was also urged that unless these amendments are made retroactive, it will not be possible for these classes to secure what was their due—that is they will not be able to take advantage of their inclusion for want of specification in the lists issued under the President's Orders.

4. During the course of our enquiry, representations were made that educational and other facilities extended to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in their own States should be extended to them when they go from one State to another. It is true that the status of these communities may change from State to State and a community known as belonging to Scheduled Castes may, in a neighbouring State or in a distant State, be regarded traditionally as untouchable or even as a tribe. And yet, it must be borne in mind that although untouchability or the tribal character may not be found, the backwardness persists. Therefore, members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, when they go from one State to another, should receive the amount of help that is given to the Other Backward Classes in the State where they have gone to reside. It is not possible to lay down detailed rules for the guidance of administration. The greater the number of rules or details, the more mechanical becomes the help given. The administrators serving the backward people of all descriptions should be sympathetic and must be able to consider each case on its merits.

Revision of the Lists of Scheduled Tribes

5. In dealing with revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, we have indicated generally the procedure we have adopted. We feel, however, that a little more has to be said about the Tribes in general, and the Tribes of Assam in particular.

6. *Assam*—So far as the tribes of Assam and Manipur are concerned, it was not possible for us to go into details, first, because of lack of communications and want of time, and secondly, because information in the possession of Government was neither adequate nor up-to-date. From information made available to us, it was found that the tribes in Assam and Manipur had been classified by British Officers as Kukis, Nagas, Akas or Lushais in a casual fashion. Some of these are tribal names and others regional. Certain tribes resented being included wrongly under different regional or tribal names. It was suggested that the Schedule should simply mention any Naga or Kuki or Lushai tribe, but this, to our mind, would not solve the problem satisfactorily. There are the 'Hmars', the 'Paites' and others, for instance, who refused to be classified amongst 'Kukis' or 'Nagas'. Though some of the 'Paites' are 'Chins', an objection was raised to their classification under the general heading of 'Chins'. In these circumstances, we are of opinion that it would be more convenient to list all the tribes by their own particular names in the hilly areas of Assam and Manipur.

7. It is necessary to have an exhaustive investigation of these tribes and their conditions. Some agencies like Tribal Research Institutions under the Government of India, or under Universities, may profitably be made use of for this purpose. The Government may also co-ordinate the work done by these agencies and help them to collect more reliable data on the various tribes of Assam.

8. *Uttar Pradesh*—The policy of the Uttar Pradesh Government regarding the Tribes in their State is somewhat unusual. The Government have refused to classify any group as tribals. They insist that there is no need to classify any of the tribes as such. The reason advanced by them was that this would create new problems

though they conceded that some of the communities who were living in accessible forest areas and in the hilly regions of Uttar Pradesh were very backward and deserved all help that was now being accorded to the tribals in other States. This, in our view, is not a sound policy. It is unwise for Uttar Pradesh to follow a distinctly different policy from that pursued by the neighbouring States, especially when the conditions of life and surroundings of these tribals are almost identical. The poor hill people in the border areas fail to understand why they are tribals in one place while their kith and kin in the neighbouring hamlets are not tribals. We are unable to accept the opinion of the Government of Uttar Pradesh and recommend that the tribals found in Uttar Pradesh should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

9. *Rajasthan*—The loudest complaint in Rajasthan was that the list of Scheduled Tribes furnished by the Government of Rajasthan was incomplete and that the President's Order on the basis of that list worked as a great hardship on the Tribes of that State. The position there has become anomalous as pointed out by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at page 9 of his Report for 1951:—

"In the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, the Scheduled Tribes in Rajasthan have been specified as below:—

Throughout the Scheduled Areas of the State:—Bhil. This means that if any specified part of a Scheduled Area in Rajasthan ceases to be a Scheduled Area, or if any territory not already included in the Scheduled Area, is so included under an Order of the President (*vide* para 6 of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution), the Bhils of the specified Area that may be excluded from the Scheduled Area will automatically be taken out of the Scheduled Tribes, or the Bhils who may be inhabitants of the area later included as Scheduled Area will automatically become Scheduled Tribes."

10. The other anomaly in that State was pointed out was that the Scheduled Areas of Banswara, Dungarpur and Chittorgarh excluded a number of towns, big villages and police out-posts, and consequently, Bhils who formed the bulk of the population in these places were not brought under the list of Scheduled Tribes. By this they not only lost political representation, but also other facilities. The representatives pleaded that this anomaly should be set right and the Tribes living in any part of this State should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes as is done in the States of Bombay, Hyderabad, Kutch, Tripura, Vindhya Pradesh and Ajmer. They further pointed out that Bombay State has recognized as many as six sub-tribes of Bhils as Scheduled Tribes throughout their State. It was brought to our notice that according to the estimates made by the State, the tribal population in Rajasthan in 1931 was 18 lakhs; in 1941, it has dwindled to 15.51 lakhs and in 1950 it was further reduced to 4.47 lakhs. And it is learnt that the figure for 1951 is put at 3.16 lakhs.

11. This question raises the vital point whether the Tribes in specified Areas alone should be considered for inclusion in the list

of Scheduled Tribes, or whether Tribal people found anywhere in a State should be brought under the list. The same problem came up before us elsewhere. The representatives in other States also urged that the invidious distinctions now made between Tribes in notified areas and tribals in other parts of the State should be done away with, and a uniform policy followed throughout India in the interest of the advancement of these classes. They pleaded that Tribes outside the notified areas have not yet been able to shake off their traditional tribal characteristics and have not been assimilated into the general society. The situation was similar in Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat.

12. We have taken each State as a unit in considering the condition of the backward communities, including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Some States, in their anxiety to find out the exact area in which the Scheduled Tribes are found, have demarcated particular areas even within the State itself. Such information is useful to find out where a particular Scheduled Tribe or all the Scheduled Tribes are concentrated, so that efforts for their amelioration may be started through these centres. But it is another thing to interpret these regional differences as amounting to saying that in all other parts of the State the Scheduled Tribes may not be regarded as tribals and may not get the necessary assistance which the law and the policy of the Government have offered to Scheduled Tribes.

13. We do want these tribal people to come in closer and closer contact with the bulk of the nation i.e., with society in general. We do not want them to lead a segregated or secluded existence. They are free to follow their own tribal ways, but they are equally free to assimilate whatever they find acceptable to them, and naturally they may shed certain elements in their tribal life which arose out of an incomplete appreciation of modern conditions and civilized existence.

14. It is inevitable, therefore, that members of the Scheduled Tribes when they come and stay in the cities and district headquarters, should accept the ways and means, and education of other people. To that extent the tribalness will be diluted, but to declare them as non-tribals would be doing an injustice to them. They belong to their own community and the tribalness of the rank and file of their community is the measure of the tribalness of the whole community. If we offer certain concessions and help to the Scheduled Tribes in their effort to come up to the general standard and at the same time, declare that they will lose all this help if they go to capital cities and district headquarters, it will amount to setting a premium on their remaining within the tribal areas. It would be a kind of internment not by law but by temptation. In fact the correct policy would require that the tribals in district headquarters and cities should be encouraged to get more and more education and to spread it amongst their own people. The tribals in rural areas should also be encouraged to come to these centres of modernisation. In this way the whole community would be able to progress towards modernisation. It would be invidious to single out sections of the community or areas of modernisation and to deprive people of help on that score. Let the whole community get modernised.

15. Modernisation does not demand that they should give up their peculiar marriage customs (unless, of course, the customs are repugnant to the moral sense of society as a whole). They should be encouraged to retain their folk-dances, folk-songs and many customs which it would be worth our while to copy. Let us not forget that if they have to assimilate a good many things, they have also certain good things to offer to us. It is only on terms of equality that we can expect them to come down to us.

16. Of course, a time will come—and such time should come sooner rather than later—when the tribal people, although retaining all that is beautiful, romantic and useful in their tribal ways, will be sufficiently modernised and sufficiently educated not to need artificial props and supports; and a day will come when we shall have to decide, with a firm policy, that the crutches should be removed and each community will then have to stand on its own legs. The policy adumbrated above, is the correct policy to hasten such a day. Therefore, we are against maintaining pockets of tribalness and other pockets where tribalness is not required. The whole State should be one unit and the help offered to the tribal people must be given to them irrespective of their shifting from one area to another in the State.

17. *Himachal Pradesh*—Gadis and Gujjars in Himachal Pradesh lead almost a tribal life. They are breeders of cattle and sheep. They endure many difficulties when they trek down to the plains during winter for the purpose of grazing their cattle. These two tribes deserve not only help to improve the breed of their cattle, but also amenities and rest-houses both for men and cattle along the route by which they shift to the plains during winter months.

18. *Rajasthan*—There are some nomadic tribes who are breeders of cattle and sheep in Rajasthan. They also need assistance.

Kaka Kalelkar

Narayan Sadoba Kajrolkar

Bheekha Bhai

Shivdayal Singh Chaurasia (subject to my note of dissent)

Rajeshwar Patel

Abdul Qaiyum Ansari

T. Marippa

P. G. Shah*

Anup Singh†

N. R. M. Swamy

Arunangshu De (subject to my note of dissent)

Office of the
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2, Mansingh Road,
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31st March 1955

*With a separate note.

†Subject to my note of dissent.

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

Recommendations	Chapter	Page	Paragraph
1	2	3	4
<p>1. CENSUS AND CASTE</p> <p>Before the disease of caste is destroyed all facts about it have to be noted and classified in a scientific manner as in a clinical record. To this end we suggest that the 1961 census be remodelled and re-organized so as to secure the required information on the following lines.</p> <p>(1) The Census operation should be conducted as a well-equipped continuous organisation competent to supply information on various topics of sociological importance.</p> <p>(2) The Census Offices must have permanent ethnologists and sociologists in addition to the economists attached to them.</p> <p>(3) As long as social welfare and social relief have to be administered through castes, classes or groups, full information about these groups should be obtained and tabulated.</p> <p>(4) Some of the staff for the census should be recruited from social workers and village-level-workers of the Planning and Development Departments.</p> <p>(5) Estimated family income and expenditure should be collected and tabulated.</p> <p>(6) The Census slips should consist amongst others "caste" in a separate column. If possible, Census should be carried out in 1957 instead of in 1961.</p>	<p>II</p> <p>II</p>	<p>11</p> <p>12</p>	<p>5</p>

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
2. SPECIAL GROUPS			
(1) MUSLIMS —It would not be correct or just to list all Muslims as socially and educationally backward. But there are a number of communities amongst them that are suffering from social inferiority in their own society and consequent educational backwardness. Such backward communities are included in the list of Other Backward Classes. Various State Governments have mentioned such communities under separate heads of Hindu and Muslim backward communities. But the Commission has indicated the names of the communities to include those of Muslims and Hindus.	IV	27	1—2
(2) CHRISTIANS —Christianity has consistently refused to recognise caste. And yet, in practice, it was found that segregation of converts from Scheduled Castes was not successfully overcome in certain parts of South India. We have included such communities, especially in the South, in the list of Other Backward Classes. We add that if Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity in other parts of the country also suffer from any recognisable degree of segregation and social disability their case should be considered for being included in the list of Other Backward Classes.		27—29	3—9
(3) ANGLO-INDIANS —The problem of Anglo-Indians does not come strictly within the purview of our enquiry. Yet, certain representations were made on their behalf. The Constitution of India guaranteed certain concessions to this community for a fixed period. Apart from this, this community cannot be classed as backward either educationally or socially.		29	10—12

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
(4) EURASIANS IN TRAVANCORE-COCHIN—A small community in the extreme south which is really Eurasian in character is now being called Anglo-Indian in the list published by the Education Ministry, Government of India. This nomenclature is a mistake. It may be renamed Eurasian for the purpose of relief and included in the list of Other Backward Classes of Travancore-Cochin State.	IV	29	13—14
(5) SIKHS—It is our view that the Sikhs constitute an integral part of the broader Hindu religion. Although in theory, the Sikhs do not subscribe to caste system, in actual practice they cling to many Hindu traditions and practices. We recommend that the communities or groups who are treated as untouchables among the Sikhs should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes. Any distinct community among the Sikhs found to be socially and educationally backward must be included in the list of Other Backward Classes.		29	15—18
(6) GURKHAS—The Gurkhas are socially and culturally an integral part of the Hindu community. Such of the communities among Gurkhas found in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, who are educationally and socially backward are included in the list of Other Backward Classes. In the rest of India they are known to ignore caste and to live as one homogeneous community. Such of those who have settled down in other States (except U. P., Bihar and West Bengal) should be included in the list of Other Backward Classes if they are found to be socially and educationally backward.		30	19—20

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>(7) BHANGIS—The lot of Bhangis at present is far from satisfactory. Their living conditions are bad and the tools with which they work should enable them to carry out their work in a more decent and hygienic manner. The Bhangis should not be condemned to live in segregated localities. They should be distributed and given quarters among other groups.</p>	IV	30—31	21
<p>(8) WOMEN—Women in India have lived under great social handicaps and as a class must be regarded as backward. But since they do not form a separate community they cannot be included in the list of backward classes. The conditions of women among backward classes is worse. The girls from among backward classes should be given better facilities for education. They should be encouraged to live in special hostels for girls of all communities. They should be trained in Basic Education. Women should have a share in the political life of the country. The following measures are recommended for the advancement of women in general.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Free education in all stages to all girls whose parents' income is less than Rs. 3,000 per annum. 2. Scholarships for girls belonging to the backward classes. 3. Residential hostels for girl students, with priority for girls of the backward classes. 4. <i>Samata Ashrams</i> for girls of all communities to be run by trained staffs of women and men. 		31—32	22—30

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>5. Creation of special facilities for girls to study Medicine, Home Sciences, and other subjects specially suited for women.</p> <p>6. More facilities for training women in the Fine Arts, and in Social service.</p>			
<p>(9) UNFORTUNATE WOMEN—The administration of "suppression of Immoral Traffic Act" is found to be more punitive than reformatory. It is found that the punished offenders drift back to their old profession in the absence of any properly organised rescue homes where they could find refuge. There is great scope for starting rescue homes and Government should be able to help such efforts with finance and legislation. Rescue homes should not be mere asylums for such women. Such homes must be controlled by committees consisting of social workers under Government supervision. Women social workers from well-to-do society should accept an increasingly larger role in tackling this problem. In addition to providing food and shelter for these unfortunate women, they must be taught different occupations to enable them to earn a living and become useful members of society. They must also be taught to change their outlook and to lead normal married lives.</p>	IV	33—34	31—36
<p>(10) DELINQUENT CHILDREN —</p> <p>The lower sections of society often neglect their children with the result that the latter go astray and sometimes become the victims of greed, cupidity and passion. Such</p>		34	37—40

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>children generally learn all kinds of vices and are trained to deceit and crime. The provisions for the rehabilitation of delinquent children are totally inadequate. It is not legislation that matters but better provision for the maintenance and education of such children that counts; it is the quality of the reforming agency that is all important. The State must help persons who take up the work of amelioration of these delinquent children.</p> <p>(11) DENOTIFIED COMMUNITIES (EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES).</p> <p>The following measures are recommended for adoption for the amelioration of the conditions of the communities in this group;—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Ex-criminal tribes should hereafter be called denotified communities. Vinochit Jatian. 2. These communities have been classed as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Other Backward Classes according to the criteria applicable to them for the purpose of relief. 3. The nomadic groups should be given facilities for leading a settled life. Efforts must be made to distribute them in the towns and villages so that they could gradually be assimilated by the society. 4. The children of these groups should be trained in Basic Education. They must also be trained in cottage industries, handicrafts and agriculture. Services of trained psychologists and social workers should be employed to reform these habitual offenders. 	IV	34—37	41—48

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
5. Group criminality should be treated differently from the acquired criminality of the individuals.			
(12) BACKWARD AREAS— Backward areas in Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Udaipur in Rajasthan, Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Alirajpur and Jobat in Madhya Bharat, Amarakantak in Vindhya Pradesh should be developed by allocating more community projects, national extension service blocs, social welfare extension projects and other developmental schemes. The proposals of some of the States to declare them as Scheduled Areas may be examined by Government of India and early action taken.	IV	37—38	49—51
CRITERIA OF BACKWARDNESS A variety of causes—social, environmental, economic and political—have operated both openly and in a subtle form for centuries to create the present colossal problem of backwardness. Economic backwardness is the result and not the cause of many social evils of the present day. Social backwardness, therefore, is not to-day due to the particular profession of a person. It is not easy to group sections of people under certain occupations. There are certain distinct communities who are not confined to any one occupation and it would be difficult to categorise them under any known occupations. There are certain castes and sub-castes based on regionalism.	V	40	8
The Commission is justified in interpreting the terms of reference as mainly relating to social hierarchy based on caste. Caste generally depends upon birth; it may also depend upon habits and it may create further cleavage due to conversions and denominational differences.	..	42	11

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>After a consideration of the social conditions in Indian society and the causes for backwardness of a large section of the people, the following criteria are adopted for general guidance:—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Low social position, in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society. 2. Lack of general educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community. 3. Inadequate or no representation in Government service. 4. Inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry. 	V	46	25
<p>CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNITIES</p> <p>We have taken into consideration the social position which a community occupies in the social hierarchy, the percentage of literacy and its general educational advancement; and its representation in Government service or in the industrial sphere. The economic backwardness had also to be kept in view in order to find out the ability of the community to take advantage of the available opportunities as also the recent trends in its advancement.</p>		47	27
<p>The lists of Other Backward Classes published by the Education Ministry, Government of India, and the lists furnished by the State Governments form the basis. The opinions of the representatives of various communities, leaders of public opinion, and social workers were also taken into consideration.</p>		47	28*

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>We thus prepared the lists of Other Backward Classes and also revised the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We have made every effort to bring in as many communities as possible who answer the criteria but we are conscious that in the conditions prevailing in the country it has not been possible for us to get in touch with some communities who are not well-known. Our desire is that such omissions should not come in the way of any community being included later and we suggest that in these cases backwardness be presumed. We have suggested the setting up of a Board for the implementation of the policy for the advancement of all the backward classes. This Board should be empowered to investigate the conditions of the communities who may later seek inclusion in the list of Other Backward Classes.</p>	V	48—50	30, 40 & 43
<p>The names of castes have not been specified as Hindu or Muslims and they should invariably be treated as caste names common to both.</p>	..	50	42
<p>CONDITIONS OF BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR THEIR REMOVAL</p>	VI	51	..
<p>A—Political</p>			
<p>The framers of the Indian Constitution recognise the historical processes that were at work in India and the uneven development of the various sections of the Indian population. They have, therefore, made adequate provision for the protection and betterment of Other Backward Classes also. Universal adult franchise has given to the masses the most potent and powerful</p>	..	54	13

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
instrument with which to shape their destiny. What is wanted now is the strengthening of their hands through education and not to offer another weapon to weak hands.			
After considering all aspects of the question, we have come to the conclusion that it would be suicidal to accord any additional or special political representation to any community or communities.	VI	54	14
There are disruptive forces that are trying to entrench themselves by exploiting the prevailing social atmosphere. We suggest that the political parties in the country should take note of the unhealthy symptoms in the body-politic and draw people together under a well-defined economic and social programme.	..	55	15
<i>B—Economic & Industrial</i> The objectives should be full employment and the removal of economic inequalities. Maximum production, full employment, the attainment of economic equality and social justice should constitute the accepted objective of planning under present-day conditions		55	16—17
Unplanned industrial development in India, urbanisation and expansion of trade and commerce, growth of towns and large cities and the British educational and industrial policy have disrupted the old village economy and have resulted in denuding the rural areas of local talent and leadership.	..	55	
During the 30 years following 1921 the population has increased by 11 crores, and there is a drop of 25 per cent in the per capita area of cultivated land.	..	57	20

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
The pressure on land has increased from decade to decade. The decay of rural industries has aggravated the rural situation. All these factors have contributed to the growth of landless agriculturists family.			
Smallness of holdings, primitive system of cultivation, lack of educational facilities, lack of adequate agricultural equipment, decay of rural industries causing unemployment and under-employment have all contributed to the present poverty of the rural people.	VI	60	23
Any plan for economic reconstruction of the country must necessarily include measures designed for the speedy uplift of the backward classes. Conditions must be recreated in which the development of these classes takes a natural growth. Removal of economic and social causes that are operating to their detriment should receive first priority.		62	26
No time should be lost in making fuller use of the human resources, available skill and experience of the artisan and occupational classes to produce goods which are needed by the community. Improved equipment or improved tools and training in modern methods of production may follow the above measures.		62	27
The main solution, therefore, for the speedy uplift of the backward classes in the rural areas is not so much to wait for the creation of new avenues of employments, as to provide favourable conditions in which their lost or decaying occupations could be revived. A large scale employment in traditional occupations will alone relieve the		62	28

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>present pressure on land. It will also help in creating suitable social atmosphere for economic uplift. It is only thereafter that we will have a clear picture of rural life which will enable us to re-organise rural life on a sound and rational basis.</p>			
<p>"The economic policy and the ideology behind the Five Year Plan do not inspire sufficient confidence. It is felt that even the policies enunciated in the Five Year Plan have not been properly implemented." The administrative set-up entrusted with the task of implementing the welfare measures requires a complete re-orientation. There was widespread demand from the representatives of the backward classes that a large number of their own men should be taken into services to bring about better social contact with the masses.</p>	VI	62	29
<p>All developmental activities should radiate from central villages of compact blocks consisting of 10 to 15 villages. The country should be divided into compact blocks of such dimensions on a planned basis, and modern amenities should be taken to such <i>Panchkoshi</i> units. The disturbing causes of rural life such as factional feelings, presence of anti-social elements and the habit of litigation often leading to breaches of peace should be removed to help development of the rural areas.</p>		64	30
<p>LAND POLICY</p> <p>For the uplift of the backward classes, it is vital to have a proper land policy. It is necessary that all kinds of intermediary tenures should be abolished to help in the formulation and implementation of a national land policy.</p>	..	64	31

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>The land legislation must be simple and easily understandable by the rural population. There should be no loop holes in such a legislation that might lead to social conflict. Too many and frequent changes in land legislation create confusion and difficulty and often lead to endless litigation and exploitation.</p>	VI	64	32
<p>LARGE LANDOWNERS AND CEILINGS ON HOLDINGS</p>			
<p>The general picture in the country is one of numerous small holdings, a large proportion of them being uneconomic, a small number of middle peasants and a sprinkling of substantial owners. If it were the sole object of policy to reduce the holdings of the large owners with a view to providing for the landless or for increasing the farms of those who now have uneconomic fragments, the facts at present available suggest that these aims are not likely to be achieved in any substantial measure. The principle of an upper limit for land holdings must be considered in relation to general economic pattern of the country as a whole, rather than in relation to the possible use that could be made of land in excess of any ceiling limit that may be fixed. Fixing a ceiling on land holding is necessary as a social principle to remove the existing in-equality of the cultivators' holdings in the countryside. But it should be followed almost immediately by placing limits on incomes from other fields of national economy. Only then would it be possible to create a psychological satisfaction among those who are required to surrender their property for the common good. The ceilings should</p>	VI	65	34

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>be different for different types of land and conditions of rainfall, types of crops grown; pressure of population, etc. should be taken into consideration in determining the ceilings.</p> <p>DISTRIBUTION OF LAND</p> <p>The available government land should firstly be distributed among the landless and then among the owners of uneconomic holdings. To this end land revenue rules should be suitably amended. Any infringement of this rule should be severely dealt with by State authorities.</p> <p>The excess land resumed after fixing the ceilings should also be distributed first among the landless.</p> <p>The distribution of land should be left in the hands of Government officers who should be instructed to implement the Government policy in this behalf.</p> <p>SMALL AND MIDDLE OWNERS</p> <p>These groups include almost all backward communities. Their holdings are uneconomic and seriously fragmented. The general aim should be to bring about consolidation of holdings.</p> <p>Fragmentation beyond a certain limit should be prohibited by law.</p> <p>REGULATION OF TENANCY RIGHTS</p> <p>It is necessary to protect the tenants under large holders from arbitrary eviction and from the levy of unreasonable rent. A limit on the amount of land to be resumed by the owners for personal cultivation is necessary in all cases where ceilings on holdings are not fixed. In cases where ceilings are fixed the tenants may be given the option to acquire the excess land by payment of suitable price in easy instalments. The quantum of rent to be</p>	<p>VI</p>	<p>65</p> <p>66</p> <p>66</p>	<p>35</p> <p>36</p> <p>37</p>

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
fixed and the security of tenancy should be determined in relation to local conditions.			
In the case of small and middle owners and in cases where ceilings are fixed the rights of tenants under such owners should be regulated by simple laws and it must always be open to the owners to resume the land without difficulty at the end of the tenancy period, which may be fixed from 5 to 10 years.	VI	67	38
RECORD OF RIGHTS Peasant proprietorship, however small the holding will for some years be the pattern in most rural areas. The rights of all interests in land should be correctly recorded and maintained.		67	39
AGRICULTURAL CLASS STRUCTURE The preponderance of owner-cultivators is the most important and characteristic feature of our agricultural class structure. The economic conditions of communities engaged in agriculture are far from satisfactory and a large majority of them have necessarily to live below subsistence level. Their position has become such that they are inevitably the helpless victims of exploitation. They need State help in abundant measure, not only to improve agriculture which is their mainstay but to bring about general improvement in their living conditions. It is equally necessary to remove all forms of exploitation from rural life, and establish co-operatives on a planned basis—both functional and regional—manned by proper type of persons who would work devotedly for the betterment of the rural people.		67	40

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
RURAL CREDIT AND MARKETING			
We endorse the integrated scheme of rural credit with State partnership recommended by All-India Rural Credit Survey.	VI	68	42
RURAL INDEBTEDNESS			
Agricultural communities habitually run into debts and more so when adverse seasonal conditions prevail. It is necessary that provision should be made either through land marketing societies or through proposed State Bank for long-term credit to redeem them from the clutches of unconscionable money-lenders. Relief from usurious rates of interests is also needed. Scaling down of the debts of impecunious cultivators is equally desirable.	..	70	44
MARKETING FACILITIES			
"In the absence of staying power a large number of small farmers compete with each other and the markets witness conditions of occasional glut and scarcity." They are subject to exploitation at the hands of money-lenders or mandi-merchants in marketing their produce. It is, therefore, necessary to establish co-operative marketing societies, regulated markets at suitable centres with warehouse and banking facilities.	..	70	45
PRICE SUPPORT			
The conditions of agricultural communities are largely governed by the price they get for their surplus produce. Minimum fair prices should be guaranteed to the cultivators both from the point of view of the keeping up agricultural production and of the prosperity of the agricultural communities.	..	70	46

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
IRRIGATION			
The most effective way of increasing crop production in India is to provide through irrigation an additional source of water-supply to the cultivated land. Small and medium irrigation works have an important part to play and they have obvious advantages. In view of the urgency of this problem we recommend that greater attention should be paid to the execution of small and medium irrigation works and to provide irrigation from wells and rivers wherever it is not possible to have tanks and anicuts.	VI	70	47
LAND TAX POLICY			
There have been complaints that the present system of land taxation has not been equitable and it is particularly oppressive in the case of uneconomic holdings. The present system has not been based on the capacity of the cultivator to pay the tax. The system of land taxation in its relation to the capacity of the cultivator should be thoroughly examined and an equitable system of taxation be evolved.		71	48
RURAL SAVINGS			
With the increase in agricultural prosperity there should be scope for effecting savings in rural areas. The villagers have to be educated to practise thrift and economy. There is, therefore, need for organising rural savings schemes at village level.	..	71	49
COMMUNITIES ENGAGED IN THE CULTIVATION OF VEGETABLE AND FLOWERS			
There are some distinct communities who are mainly engaged in the cultivation of vegetables and flowers. They are	..	71	51

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>known by different names in different parts of the country. The following steps are recommended to ameliorate their conditions:—</p> <p>Enough land should be made available for growing vegetables and fruits. Suburban belts around large towns should be developed for raising fruits and vegetables by organizing these communities into cooperatives, especially for the supply of improved seeds and for marketing their produce. The exorbitant rents in all cases of tenancies should be scaled down as in the case of other tenancies. Instructions should be given to the young men of these communities on improved methods of fruit and vegetable cultivation. Scholarships should be established for the purpose of training qualified students among them in general horticulture.</p>			
<p>COMMUNITIES ENGAGED IN GROWING BETEL VINE</p>	<p>VI</p>	<p>72</p>	<p>58</p>
<p>Cultivation of betel wine is mainly confined to one caste which is found all over the country. It is cultivated on small plots of land and the community is generally poor. The greatest difficulty is in the matter of marketing betel leaves. Pan-growers have lost their export markets in Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Nepal. The following measures are recommended for their amelioration:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Grant of sufficient and suitable land for raising betel vine to members of this community and reduction of oppressive rents. 			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>2. Establishment of co-operatives to grant medium-term loans for the purchase of agricultural implements and manure and for marketing the betel leaves.</p> <p>3. Exploration of foreign markets by state for betel leaves.</p> <p>4. Research work for eradication of pests and diseases and for improving the quality of the vines, and in the nutritional and medicinal value of Pan.</p>			
REORGANISATION OF VILLAGE ECONOMY.			
<p>The first Five Year Plan advocates Co-operative farming for the rapid reorganisation of village economy. The Planning Commission has also suggested co-operative village management as the ultimate objective. But the socio-economic structure of the present village life is not congenial for proper functioning of co-operatives in rural areas. The basic causes hindering the development of the co-operative spirit must be removed before agriculture could be re-organised on co-operative principle.</p> <p>A few essential steps are necessary to facilitate such a reorganisation.</p> <p>They are:—</p> <p>1. Prohibition of investment on land as a source of income by persons who are not themselves cultivators or by those who do not reside either in the village in which the land is situated or on the farm.</p>	VI	73	56
		74	57

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>2. Acquisition of land in a village from persons who own the land but who are themselves not agriculturists and do not reside in the village.</p> <p>3. Restraint on alienation of land in favour of a non-agriculturist.</p> <p>4. Reservation of the required extent of land for grazing purposes and for village plantations.</p> <p>5. Immediate redistribution of the remaining land among the landless agriculturists in the village in the first instance and among the owners of uneconomic holdings next.</p> <p>6. Consolidation of holdings.</p> <p>7. Bringing into vogue mutual aid among agriculturists in farm operations.</p> <p>8. Organisation of multi-purpose co-operative societies for better farming or for distribution of seeds, fertilizers, agricultural equipment for marketing and financing, etc.</p>			
<p>BHOODAN MOVEMENT ..</p> <p>Bhoodan is in essence the application of the principle of non-violence for the acquisition and distribution of land among the landless in the country. This movement has set in motion a great agrarian revolution, and is creating a necessary psychological climate in the country for the establishment of social ownership of land through voluntary and non-violent means. It is trying to influence the psychology of the "haves" as regards money, power and prestige and to inculcate in them a feeling of social</p>	VI	75	58—61

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>solidarity by asking them to recognise their duty towards the backward people as members of a vast family. Acharya Vinoba Bhave is teaching the 'haves' to accept the 'have-nots' as on a par with ones' blood brothers. He is, therefore, not only removing the backwardness of the 'have-nots' but he is also removing the bitterness which the 'have-nots' in their desperation are nursing. This great agrarian revolution is more spiritual in its content. The scope of Bhoodan Movement is widened to include in its scope 'Sampattidan' 'Shramadan' and 'Jeevandan' so necessary for the establishment of Sarvodaya society. We recommend both to the Government and to the nation that they should take up the work of Bhoodan Movement and spread it to all nooks and corners of the country.</p>			
<p>DEVELOPMENT OF LIVESTOCK</p> <p>The development of agriculture is bound up with the development of livestock, for bullocks are the principal motive power used almost universally for agricultural operations. It is important therefore, that the cattle wealth of the country should be improved. All communities engaged in agriculture are also engaged in rearing live-stock. The prosperity of these communities depends on the development of livestock.</p> <p>The following steps are essential:—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Segregation of all useless and decrepit cattle and establishment of <i>Gosadans</i> for their upkeep. 	VI	76-77	62-65

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>2. Large-scale arrangements for the castration of the useless and scrub bulls, to prevent deterioration in the quality of cattle.</p> <p>3. Cattle-breeding stations to improve the breed of cattle as also to improve the milk-yielding qualities of the cow should be established. All help and encouragement should be given to local breeders to improve their stock.</p> <p>4. Steps should be taken to conserve the existing pasture land in the interest of village cattle.</p> <p>5. More veterinary institutions should be established.</p>			
<p>DAIRYING</p> <p>Small scale dairying is a general feature in rural areas and brings subsidiary income to the agriculturists. Efforts should be made to organise these small producers into co-operative milk unions and to give them monetary help and other assistance needed for developing dairying.</p>	VI	77	66-67
<p>CATTLE INSURANCE</p> <p>Cattle in India are subject to periodical epidemics and loss of cattle during such epidemics renders agriculturists helpless. They have no other source to depend upon for their livelihood when they lose their cattle. It is necessary to safeguard their interest by sponsoring schemes of cattle insurance.</p>	..	77	68
<p>SHEEP AND WOOL</p> <p>One community (class of shepherds) is engaged mainly in sheep breeding. There is great scope for the improve-</p>	..	77-78	69-70

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>ment of sheep—both of wool and mutton type. The present conditions of sheep-breeders are far from satisfactory. Besides establishing regional centres for improving the quality of wool by selective breeding and cross-breeding, it is necessary to make available sufficient breeding areas to the sheep-breeders in several States. Steps should be taken to protect the flocks of sheep from disease and epidemics.</p>			
<p>POULTRY AND BEE-KEEPING Poultry and bee-keeping could form an important subsidiary industry for the poorer classes in the rural areas. It would be a source of additional income to them. Improved breeds like white-leg-horn, Rhode-Island, etc. should be introduced in the rural areas. The rural population should also be instructed in the art of bee-keeping, and State help extended to popularise it.</p>	VI	78	71
<p>PIGGERY Communities engaged in pig-rearing are considered as low-castes. Some of them have no fixed place of residence and they move from place to place with their pigs. The State Governments should give more facilities to communities engaged in this occupation and they must be induced to lead a more settled life.</p>		78	72
<p>FISHERIES A number of communities are engaged both in inland fishing and in sea-fishing. Some of them are regarded as untouchables. In addition to fishing, some of them are also engaged in plying boats and ferries inland streams or cargo boats along the coastal areas. Their living conditions are extremely unsatisfactory and lead a very hard and strenuous life.</p>		8-79	73-76

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>Fisheries have to be developed to supply adequate food to the nation. Fishermen should be organised and helped to form multi-purpose co-operative societies. Through these societies they should be helped to build strong boats or buy boats and nets. They should also be enabled to purchase steam-launches so that they can convey their catch to coastal towns. Facilities of quick and cheap transport including facilities for the preservation of fish should be afforded to them.</p> <p>The Khalasi community could be encouraged to join the Indian Navy.</p>			
<p>AGRICULTURAL LABOUR</p> <p>According to Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, the system of land tenure introduced by the British in India was responsible for the growth of agricultural labour population in India. The decay of cottage and rural industries has also contributed its shares. The recent Agricultural Labour Enquiry has revealed that 30·4 per cent of the population in rural areas is of agricultural labour. The same enquiry has disclosed that as many as 89 per cent of them are casual workers and the period of unemployment ranges from 3 to 6 months.</p> <p>Agricultural labour forms the most vulnerable section of the population, and the question of rehabilitation of communities in this group should receive the earnest consideration of the Government—Central and States. Revival of cottage and rural industries and re-organisation of agriculture would afford greater opportunities for employment of these communities. The redistribution of land among the landless would further improve the economic conditions of these classes.</p>	VI	79-80	77—80

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>MINIMUM WAGES</p> <p>In the case of agricultural labour, we feel, that barring a few exceptional cases the fixation of the minimum wage is desirable. All the facilities granted to industrial labour should also be extended to the agricultural labour. We may not press at present stage for all these amenities. But we do hope that the requirements regarding (1) Minimum wages (2) Minimum Housing (3) Drinking water-supply (4) Education, and (5) Health facilities will be treated as overdue to these backward classes.</p>	..	80—82	81—87
<p>DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES</p> <p>The Commission is anxious that the conflict between heavy industries on the one hand and cottage and rural industries on the other be removed. It is necessary in establishing industries to avoid the ugly features of the industrial life of the West. It is equally necessary to avoid heavy concentrations of population around urban areas. Steps should be taken to disperse industries all over the country according to a definite plan.</p> <p>At present communities belonging to backward classes are employed only as unskilled labour in these industries. Training facilities should be provided for these communities to improve their skill. The principle of recruiting and training suitable men from backward communities to higher ranks of service at least in Government controlled industries should be conceded. Introduction of short-term training courses in all industrial establishments is equally necessary.</p>		82—83	88—89

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
RURAL AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES	VI	83—87	90—104
<p>The conditions of communities engaged in village and cottage industries and other handicrafts are far from satisfactory. During times of unemployment they have to depend either on dole from Government or to resort to begging.</p>			
<p>There is conflict of opinion between the policy-makers and those entrusted with the implementation of policies. Some of the Government servants in the Industries departments in several States do not appear to have much faith in the survival capacity of cottage and rural industries. Their interest is at best luke-warm. The present supervisory, administrative and technical staff employed in Industries departments are not drawn from communities connected with traditional rural industries or occupations.</p>			
<p>The policy of giving subsidies to sustain these industries is at best only a palliative. The only feasible course would be to remove all factors hindering natural development of these industries and recreate favourable conditions in which these industries could flourish spontaneously. These communities will, by their own exertions try to improve themselves and their conditions if the atmosphere is favourable. With Government assistance and help, it will become easier for them not only to improve the technique of production but to organise themselves on modern lines.</p>			
KHADI INDUSTRY .. ..	..	87—88	105—106
<p>Hand spinning and hand-weaving have been India's traditional village industry.</p>			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>“The story of the deterioration became total extermination of so universal an industry in Indian villages is written in blood and tears.” Gandhiji made it the Central programme of his constructive activity, and with the rising tide of nationalism, Khadi gained in importance.</p> <p>The employment potential of this industry is great. It gives part-time and full-employment to lakhs of villagers and in particular, to the poorer sections of backward classes. There is great scope for the development of khadi industry, particularly in cotton-growing areas of the country, especially where there are no mills. Improved charkhas and improved looms should be introduced to cut down cost and to step up production.</p>			
HANDLOOM INDUSTRY	..	88—91	107—113
<p>The growth of Indian mill industry has inevitably affected the fortunes of handloom weavers. As the largest cottage industry in India, it occupies a place of prominence in the general economy of the country. Production of handloom cloth has recently been about 1,200 million yards out of a total production in the country of about 6,200 million yards per annum. In spite of great vicissitudes in the economic upheavals this industry has shown great vitality to survive and continues to sustain millions of people. It is estimated that about 100 lakhs of people including dependents are supported by this industry. The tradition, experience, and skill of handloom weavers have been long and distinguished. This could be preserved only by preventing unfair</p>			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>competition by the mills. The well-being of the communities engaged in handloom weaving depends upon the early rehabilitation of this industry. The following measures are recommended for the resuscitation of this industry:—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clear demarcation of spheres of production exclusively for the handloom should be made with immediate effect. Since the weavers are accustomed to produce varieties of fabrics like <i>Saris, Dhotis and Lungis</i>—all these varieties should be exclusively reserved for the handloom industry. The present partial reservation has not helped the industry to any desirable extent. 2. Regular and adequate supply of yarn of required counts and colours at reasonable prices should be ensured to the handloom weavers. (See in this connection Chairman's note on Ambar yarn). 3. All weavers should be brought into the co-operative fold as soon as possible with a view to protecting them from exploitation by middlemen and master weavers. 4. A chain of marketing organizations should be formed throughout the country and possibilities should be thoroughly explored for creation of foreign markets for handloom fabrics. 5. After full protection and patronage to khadi, only handloom products should be purchased by Governments—Central and State—for their requirements. 6. Financial assistance by State should be provided to weavers for the improvement of their looms for increased production. 			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>7. Weavers are at present living and working in "shocking conditions of congestion". A planned programme for improving their housing condition and, where necessary, for development of weavers' Colonies is urgently called for and should be undertaken by Government without any delay.</p> <p>8. With improvement in the technique of production of the handloom industry and increase in its yardage, the textile mills should be required gradually to confine themselves to the production of fabrics of exporting varieties as well as of luxury fabrics of finest yarn both for export and for internal consumption.</p>			
<p>SPECIAL FEATURES OF COTTON AND SILK WEAVING IN ASSAM AND MANIPUR</p> <p>Assam and Manipur have strong domestic weaving tradition. In these two States handloom weaving is non-commercial in nature. Women of these two States are expert weavers. Weaving industry here is severely handicapped for want of regular supply of yarn from the mills. There is a great possibility of making Assam and Manipur completely self-sufficient in cloth. To this end, the entry of mill-cloth should be prohibited and the State Governments should give special help to hand-spinning and weaving and also set up a yarn mill with required spindleage. Cotton cultivation in some parts of Assam should also be encouraged. These steps should provide a large volume of employment to the backward communities including a large number of tribals.</p>	VI	91	114

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>SILK HANDLOOM INDUSTRY ..</p> <p>Silk handloom weavers suffer from the hard competition from the mills. Sudden and sharp fluctuations in the price of silk yarn often throws a good number of them out of employment. Arrangements should be made for supplying those weavers with silk yarn at reasonable prices. The All-India Handloom Board should draw programmes for improving the conditions of weavers and in marketing their cloth.</p>	VI	91	115
<p>SERICULTURE</p> <p>Sericulture is one of the successful cottage industries giving subsidiary employment to a large population of agricultural communities. The internal production of silk is not yet sufficient to meet the country's demand, and the unregulated imports of raw silk from abroad creates crises in the local industry. There is great scope both for expansion and for improvement in the method of production of silk. This industry needs stabilisation and it is only then it can develop sufficiently rapidly.</p>	..	91	116
<p>WOOL SPINNING AND WEAVING INDUSTRY</p> <p>The wool spinning and weaving industry is mainly confined to a community of shepherds who are found all over the country. Severe mill competition has been responsible for the decay of this industry. Though India is a large producer of wool, a great part of it is exported and the local weaving industry is severely handicapped. Proper organisations should be set up preferably on co-operative lines in suitable places for the purchase and supply of wool to the spinners and weavers. Marketing facilities for the sale of woollen blankets should</p>	..	92	117—119

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>be provided so that weavers may get proper price for their products. It is also necessary to improve the technique of softening wool and of production of both woollen yarn and blankets to suit the changing tastes of the people. Woollen cloths should be standardised to supply the needs of the Defence Forces and Hospitals.</p>			
<p>VILLAGE OIL INDUSTRY ..</p> <p>The village oil industry is mostly in the hands of the community of Telis. The number of workers engaged in this industry has been falling steadily from decade to decade. The oil mill industry has affected this industry to a great extent and a large number of telis are either unemployed or have joined the ranks of agricultural labour.</p> <p>India is one of the most important producers of oil seeds and yet the tragedy of the situation is that the traditional oil pressers find it difficult to sustain their industry in the face of competition from oil mill industry. Both from the point of view of employment and of improving the conditions of village <i>telis</i>, it is essential to reserve the crushing of edible oil seeds to the village <i>ghanis</i>. Initially if the competition is removed and the regular supply of oil seeds ensured, the <i>telis</i> themselves will immediately revive the industry. This may follow supply of improved <i>ghanis</i> and the organization for the supply of oil seeds and for marketing oil produced by the village oil industry. We would add that immediate steps should be taken to stop the use of machinery for crushing edible oil. It is also necessary to stop further licensing of new oil mills and gradually stop the crushing of edible oils in the existing mills.</p>	VI	92—93	120—121

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>VILLAGE POTTER</p> <p>The community of village potters have preserved the traditional art of producing not only artistic and elegant earthenware but also articles for the daily use of all the poor and backward communities. At present they find no place in the production of modern ceramic wares. The potters should be encouraged to improve their methods of production by giving them training and better implements.</p>	VI	93	122
<p>BAMBOO AND CANE WORKERS ..</p> <p>Communities engaged in bamboo and cane works are known by different names in different States. They are poor and backward, and live in segregated areas in villages or in the vicinity of forests. Their main difficulties are lack of raw materials at reasonable prices and proper marketing facilities. In view of the wide variety of bamboo and cane in our country there is unlimited scope for the improvement in the production of articles from bamboo and cane to suit modern tastes. Steps should be taken to encourage these communities by arranging supply of raw materials at reasonable prices and proper marketing facilities. Proper housing and educational facilities should be provided for improving the conditions of the people.</p>	..	93—94	123
<p>PADDY HUSKING</p> <p>The establishment of rice mills has greatly affected this important village industry. Paddy husking is a source of employment to a large number of agricultural labourers and it is stated that 65% of paddy is still hand-pounded and husked locally. It is desirable to eliminate rice mills altogether from the rural areas.</p>		94	24

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
COIR INDUSTRY Coir industry is still providing a large volume of employment in Travancore-Cochin, but is often subject to periodical depression. The recent setting up of Coir Board is expected to help this industry.	..	94	125
MINOR INDUSTRIES Communities engaged in preparing leaf-plates, collecting lac from forests, etc. are poor and backward. Special measures should be taken for their uplift and rehabilitation.	..	94	126
VILLAGE HANDICRAFTS There is always a large and popular demand for articles of utility produced by village artisans. Factory products have affected the production of village artisans. The latter need protection and assistance at the hands of the public and the States. Care must be taken to distinguish between artisans who produce useful articles and those who produce works of fine arts. Those works of art cannot be produced on a mass scale. With disappearance of Kings, Maharajas, Nawabs and Zamindars, the traditional patronage is gone. These artisan classes should be assisted and encouraged and National Museums of Art and Emporia should be established to patronise these artists. The Governments should purchase these articles of art to adorn the Embassies, Parliament and Legislatures. The Government of India should assist in building up foreign markets for such articles.	..	94	127
BEEDI INDUSTRY The Beedi industry has a great potentiality for the employment of labour. Steps are necessary not only to prevent exploitation but also to organize beedi workers on a co-operative basis.	..	95	128

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
MILL AND FACTORY COMPETITION	VI	95	129
Protection of cottage and rural industries from unrestricted competition of the mills and factories and decentralisation of industries will greatly contribute towards rehabilitation of backward classes.			
COMMUNITIES WHOSE TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION IS PERSONAL SERVICE .. .. .	..	95—96	130—134
They are the washerman, the barber, the Kahar or the water-carrier and other classes of domestic servants. The conditions of these communities are far from satisfactory. They need special help for ameliorating their conditions.			
WANDERING COMMUNITIES ..		96	135
There are a number of small communities who eke out a precarious existence in the countryside. They have no fixed place of residence and they move from place to place in search of food and employment. They believe in witch-craft. Because of the insecurity of their lives, some of these communities are driven to crime. It should be the special responsibility of the Government to give them a settled life.			
TRADITIONAL BEGGARS ..	..	96	136
Ancient tradition has dignified a life of mendicancy. It enjoined that only those who accepted selfless service as a life mission were entitled to live on alms. This ideal was too good to remain unsullied. People who did not want to work for their bread assumed the name of religion and took to begging. Famines and invasions sometimes created a large			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>band of beggars. Hinduism enjoined feeding the poor as one of the duties of the house-holder. India, therefore, contentedly maintained a large body of beggars till at last the institution broke under its own weight. The caste system also must share the responsibility for a large number of beggars. Some communities claim that beggary is their traditional profession and that they cannot take to any service, occupation or industry. Society has to consider the whole situation and tackle the problem by insisting on certain social standards being accepted universally both by those who accept alms and those who give them. What is needed most is that the ideal of self-respect and the concept of dignity of labour should be instilled into the minds of the people. It is only by direct inculcation of social ideals that beggary can be effaced and the manpower of India fully utilised.</p>			
<p>MEASURES TO PREVENT EXPLOITATION OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES ..</p>			
<p>Backward classes are subject to various kinds of exploitation. Measures to save them from exploitation are absolutely essential for the improvement of their economic conditions.</p>			
<p>Proper institutions must be set up for the distribution of wealth produced. A chain of suitable co-operative institutions or Government stores is badly needed for this purpose. Steps should be taken to train these communities in running institutions set up for their benefit.</p>			
<p>The ultimate solution seems to be that all production and distribution should be on a socialistic basis and that people should be encouraged to establish the necessary moral basis and to get trained for the change over.</p>			

97—98

146—149

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>C. COMMUNICATIONS</p> <p>India is a land of vast distances and unless all kinds of communications are developed it will not be possible to remove either the backwardness of areas cut off from urban centres or of people inhabiting these areas.</p>	VI	98	150—155
<p>D. PUBLIC HEALTH AND RURAL WATER SUPPLY</p> <p>Backward class communities generally live in insanitary conditions and in ill-ventilated houses. Ideas of sanitation and public health among them are still primitive. Large scale preventive measures are necessary to improve the health of these classes. It is absolutely essential that the rural public should be educated in the necessity of maintaining sanitary conditions.</p> <p>Rural water-supply should be improved a great deal. Public wells and reservoirs must be built within the easy reach of the Harijan quarters for the use of the whole area. These should be maintained in sanitary conditions under the supervision of a Village Water Committee with a Harijan as President.</p>		99	156—160
<p>E. RURAL HOUSING</p> <p>The housing conditions of many of the communities belonging to backward classes are far from satisfactory. They live in ill-ventilated mud houses of thatched sheds. These houses are generally overcrowded.</p> <p>A planned programme of rural housing should be drawn up to provide housing for the poorer sections in proper village layouts. Sites for building houses should be made available to those people either free or at nominal rates. Financial assist-</p>		100	163—165

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>ance either in the form of subsidies or loans should also be given to help the backward communities to construct cheap houses. Housing co-operatives may be organised for this purpose.</p> <p>F. SOCIAL BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR ITS REMOVAL ...</p> <p>Social backwardness of many communities of the backward class group is due to the undesirable features of the Hindu social system. The sense of caste and discrimination based on social inequality is eating into the vitals of the nation. Modern conditions no doubt, are gradually toning down some of those rigid caste ideas but the spirit of caste still permeates the major ranks of our society. In condemning the inequitable features of the caste system, it is not suggested that Hinduism should be liquidated. Hinduism could be purified or cleansed of the dross which it has accumulated during the course of centuries. Hinduism must re-examine itself in the world context and boldly shed all its undesirable features. It must cease to be mediaeval in its concept of life; must refresh itself and take a new form which would liberate the spirit of man and enable him to assimilate the best and the noblest that Hinduism has treasured through the ages.</p> <p>The Hindu view of life was based on a harmonious pursuit of the four chief conceivable objects, viz., <i>Dharma, Artha, Kama & Moksha</i>. It taught the universal brotherhood of man, or rather the essential unity of mankind as all individual beings were regarded as part of one Eternal Soul.</p> <p>The process of equalisation is beset with many hazards. Poverty, ignorance and</p>		100—106	166—185

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>illiteracy make the task all the more difficult. Therefore, nothing short of a firm determination by the entire nation and in particular by the leaders of society to effect a complete revolution in the fundamental social outlook of the people can possibly fuse the diverse elements into a homogenous society.</p> <p>We indicate below, on general lines, the measures that the Governments—Central and State—should undertake for the eradication of social evils:—</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A clear enunciation and effective implementation of this policy of social solidarity and national progress. 2. Necessary legislation on marriage and inheritance laws. 3. Prohibition by law of social disabilities. 4. Arrangements for the production and distribution of literature on social problems. 5. Liberal use of the Press, Films, Platform and Radio for the removal of social evils. 6. Prohibition of all observances tending to promote caste feelings in Governmental activities. 7. Re-organization of the educational system with special emphasis on the dignity of manual labour. 8. Full assistance to promote education as speedily as possible among the backward classes. 			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
9. Adequate representation in Government Service and Government controlled industrial establishments of those sections who had no chance so far.			
10. Encouragement to art, literature, special cultural groups and assistance and promotion of cultural activities with this social end in view.			
G. EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS AND MEASURES FOR ITS REMOVAL	VI	106—119	186—230
The following are the various causes of educational backwardness of the backward classes:—			
1. Traditional apathy for education on account of social and environmental conditions or occupational handicaps.			
2. Poverty and lack of means of a large number of communities to educate their children.			
3. Lack of educational institutions in the rural areas.			
4. Living in inaccessible areas and lack of proper communications.			
5. Lack of adequate educational aids in the form of free-ships, scholarships and monetary grants for the purchase of books and clothing.			
6. Lack of residential hostel facilities in places where educational institutions are situated.			
7. Unemployment among the educated acting as a damper on the desire of some of the communities to educate their children.			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>8. Defective educational system which does not train students for appropriate occupations and social professions.</p> <p>The general progress of literacy in India is slow and literacy among the backward classes is appallingly low. Introduction of free and compulsory elementary education is imperative to wipe off illiteracy from among the backward classes. In recommending immediate introduction of free and compulsory education for the age group 6—14 we are not advocating the extension of the present orthodox system of education. We are in favour of immediate conversion of the existing elementary schools into basic schools and the establishment of only basic schools wherever there are no schools.</p> <p>The teachers for the basic schools should be drawn from the artisan and occupational communities in the rural areas. They must be trained in general education and then posted as teachers. The establishment of basic schools should be on a planned basis and central villages should be selected for the location of senior basic schools so that they could serve all the feeder villages within a radius of five miles. Each <i>Panchkoshi</i> area should have a small Board or Committee whose responsibility it would be to see that no child in that area went without basic education.</p> <p>Non-communal hostels should be established and the cost of board and lodging for the poorer sections of the backward classes should be borne by the Government. Students of all communities and all religious denominations should be encouraged to live together and to lead</p>			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>a common life. It should be possible for such teachers and students to live together, work together, and study together.</p> <p>Special type of Ashram schools (<i>Samata Ashrams</i>) where teachers with their families live with the students should be established. One such <i>Ashram</i> school in each one of the 300 and odd districts into which India is divided should be established. These Ashrams should be run by special trained teachers who have equal respect for all religions and who regard all communities as belonging to one human family.</p> <p>The <i>Panchkoshi</i> schools as also <i>Samata Ashrams</i> will naturally culminate into rural universities of the basic type.</p> <p>In order to make basic education popular with the masses and to carry conviction with them, it is necessary that Government should categorically declare that in selecting candidates for Government service, especially of the upper grades, students trained in basic education will be given a decided preference.</p> <p>Pre-basic or pre-school education is necessary to overcome the initial social handicap under which the backward classes children are suffering.</p> <p>The secondary stage of education is vital from the point of view of the educational advancement of the backward classes. Until suitable senior basic schools are established, there is need to start secondary schools in rural areas. Hostels should be attached to the secondary schools on non-communal lines. But it is necessary that a</p>			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
majority of the places in those hostels should be reserved for the boys belonging to backward classes. The aim should be to make the hostels training grounds for developing that common social outlook which is so necessary for the future well-being of the country.			
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION Since the Basic Rural Universities would gradually take their place, the present-day Universities should confine themselves to technical education and research, certain percentage of seats being reserved for qualified students of the backward classes and liberal scholarships being granted to poorer amongst them.	VI	119—120	231—233
POST-GRADUATE COURSES AND RESEARCH CENTRES IN INDIA AND ABROAD. Adequate provision should be made both by the State and the Central Governments for training students of all backward classes in post-graduate courses and in research centres both in India and abroad	..	120	234
ADULT EDUCATION In the interests of the backward classes, the scheme of social education should be expanded to cover the whole country, priority being given to those areas where the standard of literacy is low.	..	121	238
RURAL READING ROOMS AND LIBRARIES Reading rooms and libraries in rural areas should be established and a judicious selection of books be made for stocking rural libraries. Important periodicals should be read out in the rural reading	..	121	239

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
rooms to keep the people in touch with the day-to-day happenings in the country. Also seminal books should be read out before serious adults and explained.			
ALL INDIA INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER LEARNING			
In order to achieve speedy educational advancement of the backward classes and to create new conditions to root out casteism and regional and linguistic tendencies, special residential institutions of the university grade should be set up in various States to inculcate an All India outlook among the students. These institutions should be manned by professors and lecturers of learning and patriotism. The courses of studies should be suitably devised. The medium of instruction should be Hindi but one or two original languages must also be taught. Professors and students drawn from all parts of the country and from all communities should live, study and work together.	VI	121—122	240
Government should spend all money on basic education and only where basic schools cannot be started for want of teachers money may be spent on orthodox education.			
FACILITIES FOR ADVANCED STUDIES ABROAD			
Government of India should make adequate provision for award of various scholarships to backward class students.	..	123	246
SCHEME OF SCHOLARSHIPS IN STATES			
(a) Schemes for freeships and scholarships should be introduced in all the States for the benefit of students belonging to	..	123	247

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
Other Backward Classes. The State Governments should make adequate provision in their budgets for the purpose.			
(b) In awarding scholarships the claims of all communities among the backward classes should be taken into consideration and the allotment in the first instance should be on the basis of population of various communities in a State, preference being given always to those who are extremely backward, viz.; starred communities, in the lists prepared by the Commission.	..	124	248
(c) Small committees consisting of representatives of various communities be constituted for various grades of scholarships in each State to assist the educational authorities to select deserving candidates from among the various communities for purposes of award.			
(d) General income of the parents of a student applying for a scholarship should not exceed Rs. 1,800 per annum to enable him to get a scholarship up to the secondary course.			
(e) In all cases of education abroad, income of the parents of a student should not exceed Rs. 3,600 per annum for getting a scholarship.			
RESERVATION OF SEATS IN SCIENCE, MEDICINE, ENGINEERING, AGRICULTURE, VETERINARY AND OTHER TECHNICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING	VI	125	
(a) In all Science, Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary and other technical and technological institutions, a re-	..	125	249

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>reservation of 70 per cent of seats should be made for qualified students of backward classes till such time as accommodation is provided for all the students eligible for admission. The remaining 30 per cent as also all seats unavailed of by backward classes should go to the rest of the students.</p> <p>(b) In making selection to the reserved quota of seats, qualified candidates from extremely backward classes should be taken into consideration first, and in making distribution, the principle of favouring the lower of the two claimants among the candidates from the various communities should be followed.</p> <p>(c) A Selection Committee consisting of some of the representatives of all Communities (not necessarily, of the backward alone) should be set up to assist the educational authorities in the selection of deserving candidates.</p>			
<p>H. REPRESENTATION OF O.B.Cs. IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE—CENTRAL AND STATES</p>			
<p>(i) Prestige, power and influence, scales of pay, security of employment and scope to distribute patronage—all these have made Government service attractive. So long as it continues to be so, claims of O.B.Cs. for adequate representation in the service should be recognised by providing reservation of definite quota of vacancies in each class.</p> <p>(ii) To lessen the keen desire for Government services on the part of the O.B.Cs. one way is to render them as unattractive as possible by reducing the emoluments attached to them. Social</p>		139—142	289—299

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>justice and communal harmony both demand that the present alarming disparity between the scales of pay of the lowest and the highest appointments should be reduced. As an immediate step, the ratio between the emoluments of the lowest and those of the highest paid persons may be reduced to 1 : 20. But this ratio may be ultimately brought down to 1 : 10.</p> <p>(iii) Keeping in view the necessity for maintaining high administrative efficiency in conjunction with social justice to all sections of the population, best candidates should, as a rule, be recruited by means of a competitive examination without any regard to caste considerations.</p> <p>(iv) Even in the sector of reservation, the best amongst the qualified backward classes should be recruited. The method of recruitment to this sector could be either by personal interview and nomination or by open competition. In the latter case the selection should be confined to the best among those satisfying the required standard in the examination despite their lower ranks in the general list.</p> <p>(v) Whatever the procedure of recruitment, whether through selection after personal interview or by limited competition amongst the candidates of backward communities, the reservation specified must be secured in favour of candidates of the O.B.C. group. Strict adherence to rules of recruitment, with a severe penalty for any breach thereof, would be the best remedy.</p>			

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>(vi) The interest of the State, the efficiency and the running of the administrative machinery and the increasing role of welfare which the administrative services have to play in relation to masses of the country—all these demand that reservation should, where education is sufficiently high among the communities, be in proportion to the population of the communities of the Other Backward Classes. Taking all these factors into consideration the conclusion reached by a majority of the members of the Commission is that in all Government and Local Body Services, the minimum basis of representation of O. B. Cs. should be as follows:—</p> <p>Class I 25 per cent of vacancies. Class II 33-1/3 per cent of vacancies. Class III } 40 per cent of vacancies. Class IV }</p> <p>This percentage would be over and above that which has already been conceded by Government in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.</p> <p>(vii) At the end of 10 years the adequacy of representation of O. B. Cs. should be reviewed in the light of the statistics then available as a result of the 1961 or earlier census which may contain all communities listed by the Commission in the O. B. Cs. group.</p> <p>(viii) For purposes of distribution of the reserved quota of posts among all the communities comprising the O. B. Cs. no hard and fast rule need be followed. The circumstances and the social conditions prevailing in the country necessitate greater consideration for the</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p>

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>most backward and unrepresented communities in the group. Some system of rotation worked out in the conditions prevailing in the respective State is called for. Communities should be conveniently grouped according to the degree of advancement in each State and representation in the reserved quota be granted beginning with the most unrepresented groups. This method need not be adhered to for all time. After a period of 15 years the position should be reviewed</p>			
<p>(ix) While recognising the desirability of selecting the best qualified candidates in technical services, the O.B.Cs., should be increasingly given facilities in educational and more especially in technical institutions. It should be the definite policy for many years to come that, qualifications being fairly equal, preference should be given to a candidate from among the backward classes.</p>
<p>(x) Where training is needed to improve efficiency among the candidates belonging to backward classes after selection to various posts, they should be given training for a year or two during the period of probation.</p>
<p>(xi) While in the selection of members for Public Service Commissions appointments from among the members of backward classes should continue on as liberal a scale as possible. Caste or community consideration should have no place whatsoever in making the selection. Merit should be the sole criterion.</p>
<p>(xii) A Board consisting of a small body of trained and experienced administrators and social workers should be set up with</p>

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
<p>sufficient powers to enforce full and proper implementation of the policy for recruitment to Government service and also to consider any complaints from non-backward classes in the unreserved sector of employment under Government service. The precise powers and functions of the Board should be carefully worked out by Government.</p>			
<p>MINISTRY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF BACKWARD CLASSES</p>			
<p>(i) A new Ministry should be created both at the Centre and in the States similar to the Ministry of Rehabilitation to handle in an effective manner the problems for the advancement of backward classes and also to prevent anti-social elements from fostering disruptive tendencies among the backward classes by exploiting discontentment among them.</p>	VII	143-144	1-5
<p>(ii) This Ministry should have sufficient powers to co-ordinate ameliorative measures and welfare work done through different agencies in the various States. In particular, the following should be its special functions:—</p>	..	..	..
<p>(a) All educational problems ..</p>	..	..	..
<p>(b) Rural housing schemes ..</p>	..	..	..
<p>(c) Representation in services under Govt. and Local Bodies.</p>	..	..	..
<p>(d) Administration of grants for welfare measures.</p>	..	..	..
<p>(e) Provision of full employment in rural areas.</p>	..	..	..
<p>(f) Drawing up schemes for the advancement of backward classes.</p>	..	..	..
<p>(g) Provision of adequate finances for implementation of schemes.</p>	..	..	..

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
(iii) A department consisting of distinct sections each administering separately the affairs of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes should be placed under the new Ministry. Sanctioning of schemes, allotment of funds, co-ordination of work, training of personnel etc. would be the main functions of the Department. Funds should be separately earmarked for each of the three categories of the backward classes, namely Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes and the expenditure should also be separately debited.	..	..	..
(iv) <i>Constitution of an Advisory Board.</i>			
(a) An advisory Board both at the Centre and in each State to assist the new Ministry in the administration of welfare measures should also be set up.	VII	144-145	6-8
(b) Major question of policy and specific schemes for uplift should be placed before this Board for eliciting opinion.	..	..	..
(c) The powers and functions of the Board should be worked out in detail by the Government of India.	..	..	..
GRANTS A statement containing a summary of the recommendations in respect of financial grants required to give effect to various ameliorative measures will be found at the end of Chapter VIII of the Report.	VIII	146-153	1-16
REVISION OF LISTS OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES			
(i) <i>General</i> —Members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes when they go from one State to another should receive the	IX	154-155	1-4

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations—contd.

1	2	3	4
amount of their help that is given to Other Backward Classes in the State where they have gone to reside.			
(ii) The whole State should be one unit for purposes of help to Scheduled Tribes and the help offered to tribal people should be given to them irrespective of their shifting from one area to another in the State.	..	..	..
(iii) <i>Scheduled Tribes</i>			
<i>Assam</i> —An exhaustive investigation of the tribes and their conditions in Assam should be made. Various agencies like Tribal Research Institution under the Government of India or under Universities may profitably be made use of for this purpose. Government may co-ordinate the work done by these agencies to collect more reliable data of various tribes of Assam. All the tribes should be listed by their own particular names in the hilly areas of Assam and Manipur.	IX	155	6
<i>Uttar Pradesh</i> —Tribes found in Uttar Pradesh should be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.	..	155	8
<i>Himachal Pradesh</i> —Gaddis and Gujars in Himachal Pradesh who lead a tribal life should be given help not only to improve the breed of their cattle but also amenities and rest houses both for men and cattle on the way when they go to plains during winter months.	..	158	17
<i>Rajasthan</i> —Nomadic tribes who are breeders of cattle in Rajasthan should be given necessary assistance.	..	158	18

Acknowledgement

We take this opportunity of thanking all the officers and officials of the Commission (names given below) who worked so loyally and unstintingly, oftentimes till very late in the evening. It is their willing and enthusiastic co-operation which has enabled us to get the Report ready in time. Each one has helped in his own way towards the smooth and efficient working of the office.

List of Officers and Staff of the Commission

Serial No.	Name of officers	Designation	Period of service in the office of the Commission
1	2	3	4
1	Shri Arunangshu De ..	Member Secretary ..	8-2-53 Todate
2	Dr. N. Datta Majumder ..	Jt. Secretary ..	28-12-53 to 16-8-54
3	Shri N. L. Nagar ..	Officer on Special Duty ..	16-9-54 Todate
4	Shri A. V. Raman ..	Deputy Secretary ..	19-2-53 to 31-1-54
5	Shri P. C. Dave ..	Officer on Special Duty ..	16-11-54 to 17-2-55
6	Shri G. D. Gupta ..	Executive Officer ..	1-3-53 to 1-12-53
		Section officer ..	2-12-53 to Todate
7	Shri N. C. Sareen ..	Section Officer ..	1-3-53 to 18-2-55
8	Shri S. K. Murthy ..	P.S. to Chairman ..	16-3-53 to 18-2-55
		Section Officer ..	19-2-55 Todate
9	Shri V. L. Sastri ..	Officer on Special Duty ..	20-5-53 to 25-4-54
10	Shri P. C. Singhi ..	Research Officer ..	12-8-53 Todate
11	Shri S. K. Kaul ..	Research Officer ..	23-9-53 Todate
12	Shri Manivarma ..	Research Officer ..	26-2-54 Todate
13	Shri Bikram Roy Barman	Research Officer ..	19-6-54 to 31-12-54
14	Shri S. C. Srivastava ..	Part time Research Officer	18-9-54 to 17-3-55
15	Shri Ajit Ram ..	Assistant ..	7-3-53 to 26-3-54
16	Shri M. R. Karandikar ..	Assistant ..	13-3-53 Todate
17	Miss Maya De Bakshi ..	Assistant ..	16-2-53 to 31-1-54
18	Shri Vishwa Mitter	Clerk ..	16-2-53 to 31-11-53
		Assistant ..	1-12-53 Todate
19	Shri M. J. Mansukhani ..	Assistant ..	9-3-53 to 31-7-53
20	Shri Ramcharan Dass ..	Assistant ..	16-3-53 to 31-1-55
21	Shri Kewal Narain ..	Assistant ..	18-9-53 Todate
22	Shri Harcharan Singh ..	Assistant ..	10-12-53 to 20-12-54

List of Officers and Staff of the Commission—contd.

1	2	3	4
23	Shri S. R. Krishnaswamy	Assistant ..	27-3-54 Todate
24	Shri R. P. Tandon ..	Assistant-cum-Cashier ..	7-3-53 to 25-3-54
25	Shri M. M. Kunra ..	Do. ..	12-4-54 Todate
26	Shri H. R. Nagar ..	Clerk	7-3-53 to 31-1-55
27	Shri S. R. Kailashchandra	Assistant	1-2-55 Todate
28	Shri Yoginder Dave ..	Stenographer	16-2-53 to 31-1-55
29	Shri R. C. Jain ..	Stenographer	18-3-53 Todate
30	Shri Madan Mohan ..	Clerk	7-3-53 to 30-9-53
31	Shri Ram Lal ..	Steno-typist	1-10-53 to 10-11-54
32	Shri Ved Prakash ..	Stenographer	11-11-54 Todate
33	Shri T. Srinivasan	Stenographer	31-5-53 to 18-6-53
34	Shri G. N. Sinha ..	Stenographer	7-7-53 to 1-8-54
35	Shri Natwar Thakar ..	Stenographer	27-11-54 Todate
36	Shri Ashim Kumar ..	Stenographer	1-11-54 Todate
37	Shri J. K. Jain ..	Stenographer	1-12-54 to 10-3-55
38	Shri R. P. Sen Gupta ..	Clerk	17-2-53 to 10-3-55
39	Shri S. M. Pandya ..	Clerk	7-3-53 to 12-2-54
40	Shri Vas Dev ..	Clerk	16-3-53 to 13-4-54
41	Shri R. N. Bundelia ..	Clerk	8-4-53 to 2-9-54
42	Shri S. Ramarathinam ..	Clerk	11-8-53 to 2-9-54
43	Miss Ela Devi ..	Clerk	19-1-54 to 28-1-55
44	Shri Asa Nand ..	Clerk	18-2-54 to 1-2-55
45	Shri Mangat Ram ..	Clerk	1-12-53 to 28-1-55
46	Shri Prem Kumar ..	Clerk	23-2-54 to 31-12-54
47	Shri Manohar Lal ..	Clerk	21-4-54 to 1-7-54
48	Shri Fateh Chand ..	Clerk	26-7-54 to 25-2-55
49	Shri P. I. George ..	Clerk	26-7-54 Todate
50	Shri Shyam Lal Jain ..	Clerk	23-9-54 to 26-1-55
51	Shri Gian Chand ..	Clerk	25-9-54 Todate
52	Shri Dharam Singh ..	Clerk	27-1-55 Todate
53	Shri Hari Das ..	Clerk	29-1-55 Todate
54	Shri Gian Chand ..	Clerk	2-2-55 Todate
55	Shri Dharam Singh ..	Clerk	18-1-55 Todate
56	Shri Hari Das ..	Daftry	7-3-53 Todate

List of Officers and Staff of the Commission—concl'd.

1	2	3	4
54	Shri Raghupat Singh ..	Daftary	7-3-53 Todate
55	Shri Chet Ram ..	Jamadar	27-3-53 Todate
56	Shri Bachi Ram ..	Peon	7-3-53 to 3-2-54
57	Shri Panna Lal ..	Peon	7-3-53 Todate
58	Shri Amar Nath ..	Peon	4-3-53 Todate
59	Shri Mohan Singh ..	Peon	17-2-53 Todate
60	Shri Nanu Ram ..	Peon	5-3-53 Todate
61	Shri Bhawani Datt ..	Peon	17-3-53 to 31-12-54
62	Shri Kali Ram ..	Peon	17-3-53 Todate
63	Shri Chet Singh ..	Peon	20-3-53 to 10-2-55
64	Shri Trilok Singh ..	Peon	9-12-53 to 31-12-54
65	Shri Med Ram ..	Peon	10-3-53 Todate
66	Shri Prem Singh ..	Peon	7-1-55 Todate
67	Shri Sukhdev Singh ..	Peon	12-1-55 Todate
68	Shri Jagiri Lal ..	Peon	14-2-55 Todate

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

APPENDIX I

Statement showing the details of the tour of the Commission and Representations etc. received by it.

Name of the State (in chronological order)	Period of visit	Places visited	Mileage covered	No. of replies to question- naire re- ceived	No. of Memo- randa received	No. of persons inter- viewed
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Mysore	30-6-53 to 1 13-7-53 and 1-4-54 to 5-4-54 (19 days)	1. Bangalore .. 2. Hassan .. 3. Chittaldroog. 4. Tumkur. 5. Mysore. 6. Kolar. 7. Shimoga. 8. Chickamagur. 9. Mandya.	2,316	62	250	149
2. Hyderabad ..	14-7-53 to 27-7-53 (14 days)	1. Secunderabad .. 2. Warrangal. 3. Bhongir. 4. Pambathi. 5. Ashoknagar. 6. Khammam. 7. Tarwar. 8. Suripet. 9. Naigonda. 10. Gulberga. 11. Aland. 12. Bidar. 13. Aurangabad.	2,394	20	128	187
3. Himachal Pradesh	24-9-53 to 13-10-53 (20 days)	1. Nahan .. 2. Renka. 3. Saharan. 4. Simla. 5. Narkanda. 6. Thanedar. 7. Rampur. 8. Bagl. 9. Matiana. 10. Mandi. 11. Jogindernagar. 12. Benikhet. 13. Chamba.	1,039	7	32	109
4. Assam	7-11-53 to 29-11-53 (23 days)	1. Gauhati .. 2. Shillong. 3. Diphu. 4. Jorhat. 5. Dibrugarh. 6. Margherita. 7. Tezpur. 8. Silchar. 9. Aijal. 10. Kolasala. 11. Nowgong. 12. Goalpara. 13. Golaghat. 14. Titabar. 15. Kathgaon. 16. Fakirgram. 17. Datma. 18. Ramphat Bill. 19. Haltugaon. 20. Kokrajhar. 21. Barpeta.	3,098	29	113	336

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Manipur ..	22-11-53 to 24-11-53 (3 days)	1. Imphal .. 2. Ukhrul. 3. Churhandpur 4. Mao. 5. Sakmai. 6. Walthoumapan..	174	3	14	130
6. Tripura ..	"	1. Agartala ..	90	3	5	5
7. Saurashtra ..	26-12-53 to 28-12-53 (3 days)	1. Rajkot .. 2. Veraval. 3. Junagadh. 4. Porbandar.	965	2	22	4
8. Kutch ..	28-12-53 to 29-12-53 (2 days)	1. Bhuj .. 2. Mandvi. 3. Anjar. 4. Kandla Port. 5. Ratnal. 6. Adipur. 7. Gandhidham.	663	..	1	23
9. Bombay ..	30-12-53 to 9-1-54 (11 days)	1. Bombay .. 2. Poona. 3. Satara. 4. Kolhapur. 5. Ratnagiri. 6. Thana. 7. Nasik. 8. Dhulia. 9. Jalgaon. 10. Mahmad. 11. Nagar. 12. Surat. 13. Baroach. 14. Baroda. 15. Godhra. 16. Ahmedabad. 17. Palanpur. 18. Belgaum. 19. Dharwa. 20. Hubli. 21. Karwar. 22. Gadag. 23. Bagalkot. 24. Bijapur. 25. Sholapur.	3,856	109	141	740
10. West Bengal	22-1-54 to 30-1-54 (9 days)	1. Howrah 2. Bolpur. 3. Siliguri. 4. Jalpaiguri. 5. Mal. 6. Kurseong. 7. Darjeeling. 8. Bankura. 9. Khatra. 10. Onda. 11. Salboni. 12. Midnapore. 13. Lodhasohi. 14. Kharagpur.	2,328	54	67	208
11. Orissa ..	1-2-54 to 7-2-54 and 5-8-54 to 6-8-54 9 days)	1. Bhuvneshwar 2. Puri. 3. Cuttack. 4. Balasore. 5. Sambalpur. 6. Bhubaneswar. 7. Pipli. 8. Kathagadi. 9. Angul. 10. Jaipur. 11. Baripada. 12. Gopalpur.	1,433	11	38	101

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Vindhya Pradesh ..	7-2-54 to 12-2-54 (6 days)	1. Satna .. 2. Rewa. 3. Gandhigram. 4. Amarkantak. 5. Govindgarh. 6. Sidhi. 7. Chauphal. 8. Beohari. 9. Jaisingh Nagar. 10. Shabdol. 11. Pauna. 12. Chatterpur. 13. Khajuraho. 14. Nowgong. 15. Nagod.	1,444	4	25	68
13. Bhopal ..	13-3-54 to 17-3-54 (5 days)	1. Bhopal .. 2. Sanchi.	300	1	2	9
14. Madhya Bharat ..	10-3-54 to 13-3-54 (4 days)	1. Ratlam .. 2. Indore. 3. Ujjain. 4. Mandu. 5. Sardarpur. 6. Johat. 7. Dhar. 8. Altraipur. 9. Bagh. 10. Barwani. 11. Raipur. 12. Nowali. 13. Maheswar. 14. Gwalior. 15. Bhilsa. 16. Mungoli. 17. Shivpuri. 18. Dewas. 19. Tanda. 20. Julwaniya. 21. Khalghat. 22. Dhamnod.	1,453	23	83	66
15. Travancore-Cochin	5-4-54 to 15-4-54 (11 days)	1. Trichur .. 2. Koorkanocherry 3. Nadathara. 4. Vilangana. 5. Ernakulam. 6. Kottayam. 7. Changanacherry. 8. Kurichi. 9. Kottarakara. 10. Quilon. 11. Trivandrum. 12. Nagercoil. 13. Cape Comorin.	4,143	98	161	204
16. Coorg ..	Do.	1. Mercara 2. Pollibetta. 3. Ponnempet. 4. Murnad.	73	1	1	10

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Punjab ..	3-7-54 to 9-7-54 (7 days)	1. Panipat .. 2. Karnal. 3. Ambala. 4. Chandigarh. 5. Hoshiarpur. 6. Gurdaspur. 7. Amritsar. 8. Ferozepur. 9. Kaithal. 10. Nangal. 11. Fatehabad. 12. Sirsa. 13. Hissar. 14. Rohtak.	800 (including PEPSU)	41	119	825
18. PEPSU ..	3-7-54 to 9-7-54 (7 days)	1. Patiala .. 2. Bhatinda. 3. Rampur Phul. 4. Kapurthala. 5. Sangrur. 6. Dhuri. 7. Phagwara. 8. Faridkot.	..	11	49	344
19. Ajmer ..	16-7-54 to 17-7-54 (2 days)	1. Ajmer ..	See Rajasthan.	4	20	16
20. Rajasthan ..	18-7-54 to 22-7-54 (5 days)	1. Jaipur .. 2. Udaipur. 3. Salumber. 4. Jaisamand. 5. Jodhpur. 6. Pali. 7. Bikaner. 8. Bundi. 9. Kotah. 10. Bharatpur. 11. Alwar.	1,631	39	166	213
21. Delhi ..	28-7-54 to 30-7-54 (3 days)	1. Delhi .. 2. New Delhi. 3. Sahadra. 4. Najafgarh. 5. Mehrauli.	100	29	25	227
22. Andhra ..	2-8-54 to 9-8-54 (8 days)	1. Kurnool .. 2. Vijayawada. 3. Rajhamundry. 4. Visakhapatnam. 5. Vizianagram. 6. Anantapur. 7. Madanapalli. 8. Chittoor. 9. Gudur. 10. Nellore. 11. Tenali.	2,569	82	404	104
23. Madhya Pradesh ..	10-8-54 to 17-8-54 (8 days)	1. Raipur .. 2. Kankar. 3. Jagdalpur. 4. Bilaspur. 5. Jabalpur. 6. Katni. 7. Itarsi. 8. Nagpur. 9. Chanda. 10. Wardha. 11. Amravati. 12. Chikanda.	2,616	73	141	342

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Madras	2-4-54 to 11-4-54 Including some parts of Mysore and Tra- vancore and Co- chin States and 25-5-54 to 31-5-54 and 18-8-54 to 25-8-54 (25 days)	1. Mangalore .. 2. Udupi. 3. Ootacamund. 4. Coonoor. 5. Cannanore. 6. Tellicherry. 7. Calicut. 8. Dindigul. 9. Kodakanal. 10. Madurai. 11. Melur. 12. Ramanatha- puram. 13. Tiruchirappally. 14. Tanjore. 15. Tirunelvely. 16. Tuticorin. 17. Coimbatore. 18. Salem. 19. Yercaud. 20. Madras.	2,849	102	384	179
25. Uttar Pradesh ..	27-8-54 to 7-9-54 (12 days)	1. Allahabad 2. Mirzapur. 3. Robertsganj. 4. Banaras. 5. Gorakhpur. 6. Ghazipur. 7. Kashi. 8. Gonda. 9. Kathgodam. 10. Almora. 11. Nainital. 12. Lucknow. 13. Kanpur. 14. Haridwar. 15. Narendranagar. 16. Jaunpur-Bawar. 17. Bijnor. 18. Moradabad. 19. Moghal Sarai. 20. Agra. 21. Mathura. 22. Aligarh. 23. Faizabad. 24. Ghazabad. 25. Azamgarh. 26. Najibabad. 27. Mau.	3,045	106	691	720
26. Bihar	8-12-54 to 12-12-54 (5 days)	1. Dhanbad .. 2. Jamshedpur. 3. Ranchi. 4. Patna. 5. Muzaffarpur. 6. Harinagar. 7. Tharu area. 8. Bettiah. 9. Barari. 10. Bhagalpur.	2,800	69	331	238
		Total ..	42,379	985	3,344	5,636



सत्यमेव जयते

APPENDIX II



सत्यमेव जयते

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION



QUESTIONNAIRE

सत्यमेव जयते

Office of the
BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION
2, MANSINGH ROAD, NEW DELHI 2

Telegrams : "UPEKSHIT"

Telephone : 43890

16th JUNE 1963

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Backward Classes Commission shall—

- (a) determine the criteria to be adopted in considering whether any sections of the people in the territory of India (in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes specified by notifications issued under Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution) should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes; and, in accordance with such criteria, prepare a list of such classes setting out also their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution;
- (b) investigate the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour; and make recommendations—
 - (i) as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties or to improve their condition, and
 - (ii) as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made;
- (c) investigate such other matters as the President may hereafter refer to them; and
- (d) present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

The Commission may—

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and such manner as they may think appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them;
- (b) hold their sittings or the sittings of such sub-committees as they may appoint from amongst their own members at such times and such places as may be determined by, or under the authority of the Chairman; and
- (c) visit or depute a sub-committee of theirs to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or convenient.

During the Commission's visits to any State and during any sittings held by the Commission or any of their Sub-Committees in any State, the Commission may co-opt two persons, who belong to that State and who are members of backward classes, to be additional Members of the Commission or the Sub-Committee, as the case may be, during such visits or such sittings, provided that at least one of such co-opted Members shall be a woman.

The Commission shall endeavour to present their report to the President not later than the 31st January 1954.

PREFACE

The whole questionnaire is based on the nation's solemn determination to eradicate once for all, and that also within one generation, the age-old evil of social discrimination and a sense of high and low, which is a direct negation of democracy.

The nation is determined to do away with all social segregation and compartmentalism in society. Our society was for generations organised on a basis of religious hierarchy. Each profession and even each philosophical difference was standardised into so many castes, guilds and tribes. Not even the philosophy of Vedanta was able to eradicate these social evils. Many of them were rendered permanent by their being supported by religious sanctions.

We have thus to overcome remnants of racialism, communalism and caste segregation. This policy was unanimously accepted by the whole nation when it drafted and gave to itself the Constitution. The acceptance of the adult franchise was an act of faith and a silent revolution which has made it unnecessary to resort to a number of minor revolutions. Adult franchise has given all power to the masses.

Much progress has been made during the past 30 years as part of our struggle for independence. Mahatma Gandhi insisted that Swaraj would be an impossibility if the social evils were not eradicated betimes.

Another task which the nation has set before itself is the establishment of a secular State. This is essential in a country which has given shelter to all the religions of the world. The painful fact is that even religions that came to India with the avowed object of fighting our social evils have themselves succumbed to the atmosphere and are now humbly seeking assistance to eradicate, from amongst themselves, the very evils they came to destroy. Indian people, therefore, of all persuasions, castes and provinces, have to put up a united struggle against the evils that have kept Indian humanity down. The Questionnaire has tried to find out the effects of these evils in all their ramifications and has concentrated on the weakest spots. It must not, however, be concluded that because the Questionnaire is so very drastic, no progress has been made in the matter of social reform. A questionnaire drafted by the Backward Classes Commission cannot indulge in any self-complacency. It indicates the determination of the nation to come up within one generation to the high ideals it has placed before itself.

At the same time, we have to keep in mind our terms of reference. The question of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been before the nation and the national Government for a long time. Remedies for the amelioration of their condition have been applied already. The Scheduled Areas also have been marked out. We have only to suggest if any modifications in the list of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are necessary in order to make them exhaustive, and up-to-date. To this extent we shall have to consider

the conditions to these two categories. But our main concern is to prepare a list of the third category, viz., backward classes other than the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and suggest ways and means for the amelioration of their condition.

But we are also asked to suggest criteria for determining the backwardness of any class or community and this requires that we should study the condition of all the three categories of the backward people.

We have also to remember that according to the Constitution "the President may at any time and shall, at the expiration of ten years after commencement of this Constitution, by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the States specified in part A and part B of the First Schedule". We cannot take upon ourselves the task of that Commission. The information we are seeking is only in connection with our duty of determining the criteria.

In any case, the three categories form one unit and consideration of any one cannot be complete without some consideration of the other two. We would request, therefore, that answers to questions may be given only to the extent of our enquiry. Too much extraneous material would not help us in our work.

We invite answers to these questions in the same constructive spirit in which they are framed.



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NOTE

1. It is requested that the replies to this Questionnaire be precise and as brief as possible.
2. So far as possible, replies may kindly be sent in English or Hindi. Those unable to do so may send their replies in any language convenient to them.
3. Every question bears a serial number. While replying, it is enough to quote only this serial number.
4. The replies should be written legibly or should preferably be typed in double-spacing on one side of the paper.
5. If anyone wants to write to the Commission on any aspect of the problem that is not covered in this Questionnaire, a separate note or memorandum may be sent.
6. If it is intended that any documents sent to the Commission should be returned, such documents should be sent in duplicates so that the originals could be returned when done with. If any documents are to be treated as confidential, mention of this fact should be made on those papers.
7. It is expected that replies to the Questionnaire should reach the office of the Commission (Backward Classes Commission, 2, Mansingh Road, New Delhi 2) before the 15th July 1953.
8. Those desirous of giving oral evidence before the Commission may kindly intimate their desire to do so.
9. A copy of this Questionnaire will be sent to any one asking for it. (Copies are available in English, Hindi and Urdu; efforts are being made through State Governments to get the Questionnaire translated in other languages).

N.B.—Please note that in this Questionnaire, wherever the expression “backward classes” appears, the main enquiry is about backward classes other than the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes; but these two special categories are also included in a limited sense, as is explained in the Questionnaire at proper places.

The Questionnaire is addressed to (a) Governments, (b) Institutions serving backward classes, (c) Organisations of the backward classes themselves, and (d) all those individuals who are interested in the betterment of the backward people.

It is not necessary that attempt should be made by every one to answer all the questions. Governments, both Union and State, are however requested to supply complete information.

In the case of particular communities, their leaders or secretaries of their organizations should send detailed informations about their particular community, together with statistics as accurate as possible. A short history, traditional occupation, present-day condition and the reasons of its backwardness should be given briefly but without omitting essentials.

If the same community is known by different names in different localities, that information should also be given.

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. CRITERIA

It is necessary to fix some criteria for determining whether a particular class, caste, tribe, group or community can be regarded as backward for the purpose of removing their difficulties and for providing governmental help or preference.

In the matter of Scheduled Castes, the criterion is clear. Untouchability is the criterion and it being peculiar to the Hindus,* those Hindu castes that were regarded as untouchable by society are included in that particular Schedule. Non-Hindus cannot be included in it.

The Scheduled Tribes can also be generally ascertained by the fact that they live apart in hills, and even where they live on the plains, they lead a separate excluded existence and are not fully assimilated in the main body of the people. Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion. They are listed as Scheduled Tribes because of the kind of life led by them.

In the matter of other backward classes the criteria have to be very carefully determined. These "other backward classes" are said to belong alike to Hindu, Muslim, Christian and other denominations. They are to be found both in the rural and urban areas. They follow a variety of professions. Their backwardness, therefore, is due to a variety of causes.

1. Would you recognize the following as the criteria for backwardness? Is the list exhaustive or would you suggest any additions or modifications:—

- (a) Their place of habitation being too poor or barren, and being far removed from centres of civilisation; and inaccessible owing to there being no good all-weather roads, or there being no good markets or educational institutions near-by.
- (b) Ownership of land, houses and other property being denied to them or being quite beyond their means to acquire.
- (c) Their profession, trade or occupation being such that they get very poor return for the amount of energy spent, or on account of the social structure being prejudicial to their getting adequate return for their labour.
- (d) Their finding it difficult to establish contacts with advanced communities owing to prejudices either in their own minds or in the minds of those who are more favourably situated.
- (e) Their being subjected to some social stigma or inferiority, by which they find it difficult to get access to places of cultural or artistic training or of religious and secular education.
- (f) By the mere fact of their being segregated from more fortunate sections of society on account of taboos against inter-marriage, inter-dining and similar opportunities of association.
- (g) Owing to age-old social customs preventing members of such communities from enjoying certain amenities or status in society.

*For purposes of this Questionnaire, the word 'Hindus' includes Sikhs, Jains, etc.

- (h) The percentage of literacy and general education among them being too poor even as compared to the general low level of literacy in the country.
- (i) There being very few persons in their community who have received education adequate enough for leadership or, even if available, their not being recognized or encouraged.
- (j) The bulk of the community being unable or too slow to pick up training for business or industries or public services.
- (k) Backwardness could also be determined by a very poor conception of sanitation, by a primitive way of worship, or an indifferent regard for law and order, or unwillingness to resort to a settled life, or by very poor and extremely primitive methods followed in agriculture, or by inability to understand the function of money and monetary transactions or suicidal addiction to certain vices and social customs.

2. What additional criteria, if any, would you adopt for ascertaining what classes or communities are backward among the Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindu denominations in your State?

NOTE—Care must be taken to distinguish between all these characteristics being found in a community in general as against a few unfortunate individuals or families being found to conform to these criteria. It is not intended to dub or recognize mere individuals, whatever their number, as backward. It is only when a known and distinguishable class or section is found to conform to these criteria that they could be recognised as backward.

II. REVISION OF LISTS

3. Do you think that the Lists of (a) Scheduled Castes and (b) Scheduled Tribes issued under the President's Orders need any revision?

4. If so what castes or communities do you suggest for inclusion in or exclusion from the above-mentioned two lists? Please state reasons.

5. Has any representation been received by your Government from individuals, groups, organisations or associations for modification of these lists?

6. Have your State Government recommended the inclusion in or exclusion from the existing lists of any tribe, caste or community?

7. Do you consider the advisability of including any "Vimochit Jati" (Ex-Criminal Tribes) in any of the two Lists issued under the President's Orders? If so, please name them and state reasons.

8. Besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who have been already listed under the President's Orders, has your State prepared a provisional list of other backward classes? If so, please furnish a copy of that list.

9. Are such provisional lists of the other backward classes being modified from time to time? If so, please furnish details of such modifications with reasons.

10. What are the communities amongst Muslims, Christians and other non-Hindu denominations that are included in the provisional list of backward classes by your State?

11. The stigma of untouchability being essentially psychological could be removed at any time. The segregation and seclusion of Scheduled Tribes could be overcome by mutual understanding and by mutual

effort. When we succeed in this would you not like to put all these categories into one general category of "Backward Classes" and then set before the nation a general target for overcoming general backwardness both as regard education and financial status?

III. POPULATION

12. What is the total population of your State according to the censuses of 1931, 1941 and 1951, as detailed below:—

Census of	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1931				
1941				
1951				

13. What is the number and percentage of population of all the three categories of Backward Classes in your State, namely, (a) Scheduled Castes, (b) Scheduled Tribes and (c) other backward classes?

Please furnish details as in question 12 above.

14. What is the percentage of the population of backward classes to the total population in your State?

15. What communities are regarded as backward in your State? Please give the number of persons comprising each community.

16. Are all these backward communities in your State scattered more or less evenly in different areas or are any of them concentrated in certain pockets? If so, please name these pockets and the number of persons of various communities residing in them.

17. How many among the backward classes are—

- (i) artisans,
- (ii) agricultural labourers,
- (iii) industrial workers,
- (iv) other labourers, and
- (v) paupers?

18. (a) Do you think that the abolition of the mention of caste or sub-caste in the census of 1951 has been useful or otherwise for determining the condition of the backward classes?

(b) What procedure would you recommend for adoption in the future censuses?

19. (a) Is there any community in your State, which is dwindling in numbers?

(b) If so, please illustrate by figures of successive censuses, as to how each such community has been dwindling.

20. What are the causes of this decrease in numbers?

- (i) Is it merely because the classification has changed?
- (ii) Is it due to any physical causes?
- (iii) Is it due to migration?
- (iv) Is it due to conversion?
- (v) Is it due to defect in enumeration? or
- (vi) Is it due to any other causes?

IV. OCCUPATIONS, TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

It is observed that some communities that were thriving as artisans in the past have found their trades gone and they had to join the ranks of unskilled labour and thus became a backward community. We should like, therefore, to know the original trades which these communities had been following, whether they were skilled or unskilled, whether social status changed for better or for worse with the change of trade. We should like answers to be given to the following questions in the light of the situation mentioned above.

21. What were the original occupations, trades and professions largely followed by each community among the backward classes in your State and what are their present occupations, trades and professions? Kindly give your replies in the following tabular form:—

- (i) Name of community.
- (ii) Number of persons.
- (iii) Original occupation.
- (iv) Reasons for giving it up.
- (v) New occupations generally adopted.
- (vi) Change for better or worse in social and economic status as a result of such diversion of occupation.
- (vii) Number of persons diverted from the original occupation.
- (viii) (a) The handicrafts that have been abandoned and, therefore, are already dead or dying; and
(b) reason why they could not survive or be revived.

Please if possible give information decade by decade.

22. With a change in social ideas and standards some professions which were originally regarded as low have become respectable and therefore, persons following those professions carry with them no social stigma or inferiority now. Can you give the names of such communities which could now be safely removed from the list of backward classes?

23. What are the communities and the number of persons of the backward classes engaged in the following occupations, trades and professions in your State?

	Males	Females
(i) Land-owning.		
(ii) Tenant-farming.		
(iii) Agricultural labour.		
(iv) Vegetable cultivation.		
(v) Gardening and horticulture.		
(vi) Sheep rearing.		
(vii) Cattle rearing.		
(viii) Cotton weaving.		
(ix) Carding.		
(x) Wool weaving.		
(xi) Silk weaving.		
(xii) Mat weaving.		
(xiii) Basket weaving.		
(xiv) Oil crushing.		
(xv) Carpentry.		

- (xvi) Smithy.
- (xvii) Tanning.
- (xviii) Leather works.
- (xix) Rope making.
- (xx) Pottery.
- (xxi) Utensil making.
- (xxii) Piggery.
- (xxiii) Fishery.
- (xxiv) Cloth washing.
- (xxv) Barber's profession.
- (xxvi) Scavenging.
- (xxvii) Nursing.
- (xxviii) Mid-wifery.
- (xxix) Butchery.
- (xxx) Other handicrafts and professions.

24. What is the percentage of backward class population by communities which depend upon the following:—

- (a) Agriculture;
- (b) Cottage industries;
- (c) Commerce and trade;
- (d) Arts and Crafts; and
- (e) Other professions.

25. In your State, are there any wandering communities like the gipsies and fortune-tellers and those who exercise ghosts, or indulge in petty thieving etc.? What are the names and numbers of such communities?

26. Have any measures been taken by Government and other agencies to resuscitate any of the occupations, trades and professions of the backward classes that are dying out?

27. What other handicrafts and small-scale industries can be profitably introduced in the villages and towns of your State for the benefit of the backward people?

28. Will co-operative societies be more useful in this regard for the elimination of the middlemen to whom the bulk of the profits usually goes?

29. In the context of ameliorating the economic condition of all the backward classes should the State pay more attention to the development of—

- (i) cottage and small-scale industries; or
- (ii) large-scale industries?

30. Consistently with the provisions contained in Article 19(vi) of the Constitution, what remedies would you suggest for the protection of the handicrafts followed by the backward classes?

V. POLITICAL

31. What are the organisations that are working for bringing about political consciousness among the backward classes of your State? What is the nature and the result of their activities?

32. Some special privileges and concessions have been provided in the law for the benefit of particular sections of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. How far have these been given effect to in actual practice in your State?

33. Has there been any manipulation in recent years in order to curtail or take away political concessions that have been given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

34. What is the number of seats that members of the backward classes (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes) were able to secure in the last election in—

(i) the two Houses of Parliament;

(ii) the State Legislatures;

(iii) the Local Bodies; and

(iv) the Gram Panchayats?

35. What are the "outside agencies" if any, that are trying to politically influence the inhabitants of the Scheduled and Tribal areas in your State?

VI. ECONOMIC

36. Please give an outline of the general economic condition of each of the various communities of the backward classes in your State.

37. What are the steps taken by Government to bring about an improvement of the economic condition of the backward classes in your State or area?

38. In this connection, please give a description of the schemes initiated by your State Government in recent years.

39. How far does the joint family system obtain among the various communities of the backward classes in your State?

40. Has there been a tendency for joint families to split into separate units during recent years? If so, with what economic results?

41. What long-term and short-term schemes do you suggest for improving the economic condition of the backward classes in your State?

42. Are there any enactments in your State to afford relief to the backward classes from indebtedness? Is there any agency to help them to take advantage of legislations like the Debt Redemption Act. To what extent do they benefit from such facilities?

VII. SOCIAL

43. What are the social condition and status of each of the backward communities in your area or State?

44. What are the status and position of women in each of these communities?

45. What measures do you suggest to eliminate the hierarchy of castes that obtains even among backward classes?

46. (a) In what ways, do you think the caste system is responsible for keeping some people permanently backward?

(b) Do you think that it would suffice to relax the rigidity of the caste system or should the caste system be done away with as an unmitigated evil?

47. (a) Is it a fact that the caste system although not recognised formally persists openly or covertly amongst Christians, Muslims and other denominations also?

(b) Are any efforts being made by the leaders of those communities to eradicate the evil of caste system prevailing in their communities?

48. What are your suggestions for creating better understanding between one community and another?

VIII. EDUCATIONAL

49. What is the percentage of general literacy in your State?

50. What is the number of literate persons in your State among the—

- (i) Scheduled Castes;
- (ii) Scheduled Tribes;
- (iii) Ex-Criminal Tribes; and
- (iv) Other Backward Classes?

Please furnish information in detail as below:—

According to the census of	RURAL		URBAN	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1931				
1941				
1951				

51. What is the percentage of literacy of the four categories of the backward classes? Please furnish information in detail as in 50 above.

52. What is the percentage of literacy of each of the communities of non-backward classes in your State? Please furnish information in detail as in 50 above.

53. Among the backward classes of the above four categories in your State, what is the number of persons—

- (i) who have passed the primary standard,
- (ii) who have passed the middle standard,
- (iii) who have passed the matriculation or higher secondary standard,
- (iv) who are graduates,
- (v) who are post-graduates,
- (vi) who are holders of technical or industrial diplomas, and
- (vii) who are experts in their trade in a traditional way?

54. What special measures have been adopted in your State for the advancement of the education of the backward classes to bring them up to the level of the advanced communities? [Vide Art. 15 (4) of the Constitution.]

55. In your State, are there any primary, middle, high and/or higher secondary schools, established specially for the various categories of backward classes? If so please furnish the following information:

- (i) their location and number of students in each school;
- (ii) the number of these schools run by (a) Government and (b) non-official organisations; and
- (iii) the number of non-official organisations aided by Government.

56. (a) Has primary education been made free and compulsory in your State? If so, in what parts and with what response?

(b) What steps have been taken to popularise the same among the backward classes in your State? And,

(c) What is the number of students of the backward classes benefiting under such schemes?

57. Do you think it necessary to offer a free mid-day meal to school-going children?

58. (a) In view of the fact that the bulk of the village students belong to the agricultural or artisan classes do you think that the present system of education prevailing in the country is suitable for the boys and girls of the backward classes?

(b) If your answer is in the negative, what changes in the present system of education would you suggest, particularly for the backward classes?

59. It is recognized that basic education develops all the faculties of the student and thus equips him/her for the struggle of life in a far better manner than is done by the present-day routine system of education.

(a) Has your State Government introduced basic education throughout the State? Or, in any part? What has been the experience so far?

(b) If the State is not able to secure sufficient number of "basic" teachers or if paucity of funds prevents it from providing the benefits of basic education to all the people in the State, will your State Government accept the policy of providing basic education at least to the backward classes so that they might get the benefit of the all-round basic education, and thus be enabled to overcome their backwardness with the least amount of delay?

(c) Will your State Government take adequate steps to train "basic" teachers specially suited to the conditions of the backward people and also provide that teachers and students who have got the benefit of basic education shall be given special preference in service, promotion and in all other ways?

60. (a) What special facilities are given in your State for the admission of students of the backward classes into high schools and colleges (including professional and technical colleges)? Are there any difficulties experienced by the students in obtaining such facilities?

(b) Do you subscribe to the view that there should be reservation of seats for the backward classes for such admissions?

If so, what should be the percentage of such reservation?

61. What, in your opinion, are the causes of general illiteracy or low percentage of literacy among the backward classes of your area besides poverty and apathy?

62. What steps have so far been taken in your State for improving the literacy of the backward classes?

63. How many scholarships and free or half-free concessions are reserved for the students of various categories of the backward classes in your State? Please mention—

(i) the amount of scholarship and

(ii) the number of scholarship holders, and free and half-free studentships of each community in schools and colleges separately.

64. What amounts have been spent annually by the Government in your State for the backward classes during the last five years in the shape of scholarship or free studentship?

65. What concessions in regard to the following have been granted to students of the backward classes in your State:—

- (i) tuition fee,
- (ii) examination fee,
- (iii) board and lodging,
- (iv) free supply of books and stationery, and
- (v) any other concessions?

Please furnish figures for schools and colleges separately.

66. (a) In your State are there separate hostels for the students of the backward classes or are they freely admitted into the general hostels?

(b) If separate hostels are provided for the students of backward classes, please give the number of such hostels with accommodation and location separately for schools and colleges and the number of students categorywise in each hostel.

(c) What are the communities among the backward classes that have separate hostel facilities?

67. (a) What special facilities are being given to students of the backward classes for studies and training in foreign countries? How many students of the backward classes (including Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes) have so far been granted foreign scholarships during the last five years?

(b) Do you think it feasible to have any reservation in this regard?

68. Do you consider that it is high time for the State to provide free education up to the higher secondary standard or a full basic course to all students without any distinction?

69. After finishing the full course of basic education, should students of the backward classes be encouraged to specialise in technical training in preference to the so-called learned professions?

IX. SERVICES

70. What are the number and percentage of persons belonging to the different communities of backward classes in the various cadres of service in all the departments of Government in your State (both gazetted and non-gazetted). Please give separate figures for all the three categories, namely, the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.

71. Are there any instances of young men of the Vimochit-Jati (ex-Criminal Tribes) being trained enough to secure a place in Government service in any capacity?

72. What are the number and percentage of persons belonging to the backward classes who have been newly recruited in the various categories in all the departments of Government service in your State (both gazetted and non-gazetted) since 15th August 1947? Please give separate figures for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.

73. (a) Do you consider that, so far as Government service is concerned, the system of recruitment to the services from the backward classes is carried on satisfactorily in your State? Have you any suggestions to make for improving it?

(b) What steps do you suggest for the representation of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes in such cadres of services where there is no direct recruitment?

74. Do you consider that some special concessions should be given to backward-class employees who are already in Government service even in the matter of giving promotions?

75. Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India, has made it clear that the making of any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will not be *ultra vires* of the Fundamental Rights conferred by the Constitution.

In view of this, have the Central or State Governments provided any preferential facilities in the services so far as the backward classes are concerned?

76. What are the number and percentage of persons of the backward classes of the different categories employed in your State under semi-Government institutions, local bodies, and industrial concerns?

77. (a) Whenever there have been any reservations of vacancies in Government departments for backward classes during the last three years have all of them been filled by candidates belonging to the communities for which the reservations were made?

(b) If not, please state the reasons for not doing so.

78. Do you think that, in regard to age limit for appointment to Government service, it is necessary to give the same relaxation to Other Backward Classes, as is given to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes?

79. Do you think that, in regard to examination fees for candidates appearing in examinations held for entry into Government service, it is necessary to give the same concession to Other Backward Classes as is given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

80. Have the semi-Governmental and local bodies in your area or State been advised by Government to adopt the State policy in the matter of giving concessions and privileges to the backward classes? If so, with what results?

81. Do you think that in regard to services, any reservations should be made for the Other Backward Classes as has already been done for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes?

82. To what categories of Government service would you like this reservation for the backward classes to be applied? What categories of Government service would you leave outside the scope of such reservation?

83. (a) What is the number of persons belonging to the different communities of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes in your State in the subordinate judiciary services in various cadres? How many posts are there in each cadre, both gazetted and non-gazetted?

(b) Do you consider that so far as the subordinate judiciary services are concerned, the scheme as it is in vogue in your State needs a

thorough change so as to ensure a fair representation of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, without detriment to merit and efficiency?

84. (a) How many of the posts in the Indian Embassies, Legations and Commissions abroad (barring Ambassadors and High Commissioners), are held by persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes?

(b) What machinery is being adopted to give wide publicity regarding recruitment in the foreign services of the Union Government?

(c) Could you suggest a scheme by which the backward class people could be suitably represented in the Indian Embassies abroad?

85. How many persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes are employed in the Central Secretariat? What is their percentage?

86. (a) Is there any order in operation in your State regarding the selection of candidates to Government service? If so, please give details of the same.

(b) Are the "Other Backward Classes" also included in the regulations issued by the Government for the guidance of the Public Service Commissions in the matter of recruitment?

X. LABOUR

In view of the fact that the backward classes form a substantial portion of labour in industries as well as in agriculture, this Commission would be interested to know the conditions pertaining to industrial and agricultural labour in general. Any information in this connection will, therefore, be welcome. Ordinarily no distinction is seen in industrial labour where it is properly organized between backward communities and others and therefore the situation causes no anxiety. Yet it would be profitable if some information is collected as to the condition of the backward people employed as labour because it may be that owing to their own lack of equipment or prejudices they may not be able to profit adequately by the conditions prevailing in industrial areas.

87. (a) Do persons belonging to the backward classes suffer from any special disabilities? If so, what are they?

(b) Is it a fact that certain castes of backward classes are not permitted to work in certain departments? How far is this true in your State?

88. Do women labourers belonging to the backward classes suffer from any special disabilities?

XI. AGRICULTURE

89. It is said that there has been a marked improvement in the financial condition of farmers and small agriculturists as a result of the conditions created by the last two wars. It is also said that there has been a considerable reduction in the indebtedness of the agricultural population. What is the condition of agriculturists in this respect in your State?

90. Is it a fact that the bulk of the backward people in rural areas come under the category of landless labour and therefore do not reap the benefits mentioned above?

91. Can you suggest ways and means by which the benefits from the abolition of zamindari and tenancy and similar legislation may actually reach the backward classes?

92. In what way can the Bhoomi-dan movement help agricultural labour among the backward classes?

XII. HOUSING, HEALTH AND SANITATION

93. (a) Which of the backward communities are forced to have their habitations segregated or built outside the precincts of the village or town?

(b) Does this fact deprive them of amenities like water, lighting, sanitation and police protection which are normally available to the other communities?

(c) Are any of the backward classes in your area permitted to live mixed up with the rest of the population?

94. (a) Are the houses in which the backward classes live really fit for human habitation from the point of view of health, sanitation and privacy?

(b) Is it a fact that in most places the land on which the huts or hovels of the backward class people stand do not belong to them and they are subjected to various indignities by the landlord and the local bodies?

95. What steps are being taken to give occupancy rights of house-sites, or provide approach roads, water facilities, drainage etc., for the backward class localities?

96. The insanitary condition of Indian villages is proverbial. The places where the backward classes live must be worse so. Can you tell us what is being done by Government or public bodies, or by the backward people themselves to improve the sanitary condition of places where they live?

97. What are the most common diseases prevailing in the villages or hamlets of the backward classes?

98. Are there any insanitary habits peculiar to the backward classes in regard to bathing, clothing, eating etc.?

99. Are there any special facilities or concessions given to the backward classes in order to enable them to rebuild their houses and re-model their localities?

100. (a) What steps are being taken by Government to remodel the villages and improve the houses of the backward classes?

(b) Please give details of help extended to each of the communities of the backward classes for these purposes, in the shape of free land or land at concessional rates, money, material or technical advice, etc.

101. What steps are being taken by Government to provide adequate supply of water for drinking and other purposes to the villages and hamlets of the backward classes, by way of digging of wells, erection of tube-wells, digging of tanks and canals and construction of bunds, drainage etc.?

102. (a) What steps have been taken so far by Government or by any non-official organization to settle the nomadic population of the backward classes?

(b) In what manner do the nomadic people respond to these efforts?

(c) What is the measure of success that has been achieved in this direction?

XIII. CULTURE, ARTS AND CRAFTS

The Commission is interested in studying the cultural and the artistic life of the classes known as Scheduled Tribes as also of Other Backward Classes. It is not possible to elicit information about these matters in a compact form through a questionnaire.

We would request, therefore, that States' officers and the leaders of the various communities help the Commission by exhibitions and demonstrations of these when the Commission visits their territories, information of this being given to the Commission beforehand so that adequate time may be set apart. It is requested that only outstanding features may be taken notice of. The Commission would not have much time to make a detailed study; neither is it within the purview of the Commission's work to make such a detailed study. The Commission would also like to have a Note on the cultural back-ground of particular communities and peculiar traits exhibited in festivals, folk-songs, music, dance and other forms of recreation or religious observances. It would be useful for our purpose if friends could improvise museums of local art as expressed in various forms of culture and in various types of implements and hunting or fighting paraphernalia.

Persons who have specialised in the study of cultural and artistic side of the backward people are particularly requested to help the Commission by writing special small memoranda.

103. (a) Are there any dances and music peculiar to the various communities of the backward classes?

(b) Are they still being maintained or are they dying out?

(c) Is this dying out due to social neglect or due to the reformers' zeal or due to other causes?

104. Do the backward class people distinguish between dances which are expressive of the artistic sense of the community and dances which are obscene and which lead to dissipation?

105. Have any of the backward communities specialised in certain characteristic handicrafts?

106. Are local or communal specialities reflected in the peculiar styles of the products of art in your area or State?

107. (a) What are the cottage crafts still surviving amongst the backward classes?

(b) What are the chances of their survival in the future?

(c) Should the people engaged in such crafts be encouraged with financial help? If so, in what manner and to what extent?

XIV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

108. Please state which of the communities of the backward classes are nomadic, which are settled and which are on the border line.

109. Are there any forms of marriage amongst the backward communities which are repugnant to moral sense, for instance, marriage by force or by elopement etc.?

110. Are there any unwholesome practices that are peculiar to the communities or castes or social groups amongst the backward classes which form one of the reasons for keeping them removed from other people? If so, please give a brief description.

111. Is there any special peculiarity in the manner of clothing or living among the communities of the backward classes which distinguishes them from other people?

112. (a) Are there any primitive dialects spoken by any of the categories of backward classes? If so, please name them.

(b) Can any of these dialects be integrated with the prevalent principal regional languages of your State?

113. (a) In which communities and to what extent is polyandry or polygamy prevalent in your area or State?

(b) What is the effect of either of these practices on the economic and social life of the people?

114. Is it a fact that the backward classes are sometimes forced to spend beyond their means on certain occasions like marriage, death and other functions either by force of custom or by interested parties playing on the superstition of these people?

XV. PROHIBITION

115. (a) What communities of the backward classes are addicted to drink and to what extent?

(b) How far is their backwardness due to this habit?

116. What percentage of family income on an average is spent on liquor and narcotic drugs *e.g.*, tobacco, charas, bhang, opium, etc.?

117. (a) Is there any scheme of prohibition in your area or State?

(b) How far has it succeeded in raising the moral, social and economic standards of the backward classes?

(c) How far has it been appreciated by them?

118. (a) Has any positive recreational activity been provided for the backward classes in your area or State in order to wean them from the drink habit?

(b) If not, what do you suggest should be done in this direction?

XVI. SOCIAL DISABILITIES

119. (a) What are the social, religious and civic disabilities to which any of the backward classes in your area or State are subjected?

(b) In what way are these disabilities enforced?

(c) Which of them can be stopped or removed by law?

120. Is there any social stigma other than that of untouchability attached to particular communities of the backward classes in your area or State?

121. Are there any social customs or prejudices or taboos prevailing among the backward classes themselves which contribute to their backwardness?

122. (a) What has the State Government done so far to eradicate these stigmas or prejudices?

(b) What remedies do you suggest for speedy eradication of these?

123. Are there any social restrictions against the members of the backward classes adopting or following any particular profession, trade or calling?

124. In your State is forced labour still exacted in actual practice from members of the backward classes by feudal lords, *lambardars* and others having power over them like Government servants or by any one else even though it is forbidden by law?

125. Are the customary rights of the members of the backward classes which are based on duty duly performed by them properly safeguarded?

126. Notwithstanding the provisions made in the law, is the use of public wells, schools and temples etc. actually denied to members of the Scheduled Castes in your area or State?

127. (a) Notwithstanding the categorical prohibition of untouchability in the Constitution, is it prevalent in any form in your area or State?

(b) Has any law been enacted by the State Government for its abolition?

128. (a) To what extent do Christians, Muslims and other non-Hindu denominations in your State observe untouchability within their own community?

(b) Do the old pre-conversion caste distinctions and disabilities continue to stick to the untouchables and other backward people even after their conversion?

129. Which of the backward classes in your State experience any difficulty in securing the services of brahmins, barbers and *dhobis*?

130. What, in your opinion, are the best remedies that would secure the speedy removal of these and other social disabilities from which the backward classes are still suffering?

131. It is represented by some leaders of the Christian community that 70 to 75 per cent of the Christians are actually backward.

(a) Do Christians continue to call a person backward merely because he was born in a particular caste or class?

(b) If not, how would you single out the backward classes (and not merely backward individuals or families) among the Christians?

XVII. EXPLOITATION

132. (a) What are the different forms of exploitation to which any of the backward classes in your area or State are being subjected?

(b) What steps have the Government taken to put an end to such practices?

(c) In what measure have they been successful? What are the difficulties in their way?

133. (a) So far as the backward classes are concerned, what specific measures have Government taken to regulate money-lending, transfer of land, allotment of land, relief of agricultural indebtedness, fishery rights, farming out of forest, coupes, tank products like *singharas*, *mākhanas* etc. and similar other matters?

(b) What enactments have been made to prevent victimization?

134. How would you restrain the exploitation of individuals by the Caste Panchayats or by the head-men of communities who sometimes unjustly and arbitrarily impose penalties on the poor, ignorant and superstitious members of the community?

135. Do you think that a law punishing social leaders of a community for imposing social boycott of individuals of the community similar to the one enacted in the former Baroda State should be promulgated and enforced for the whole country?

(In Baroda and Gujerat, communities are socially organised and the recognised leaders of communities enjoy the right to punish individuals with fine or social boycott if they go against the wishes of the community. This leads to social tyranny. The Government of Baroda, therefore, took away from the communal organisations and leaders this power of imposing punishments on individuals belonging to the community).

XVIII. WELFARE

136. (a) What is the Governmental machinery for rendering welfare service in your area or State?

(b) What are the sections that are being benefited by this service?

137. (a) Is there any separate department in your State for looking after the welfare of the backward classes as a whole?

Or (b) Are there separate departments for looking after the welfare of each of the four categories of backward classes?

Or (c) Is this work allotted to officers along with their other normal administrative duties?

138. (a) Is particular attention being paid to the welfare of women and children of the backward classes?

(b) Have women representatives among social workers been particularly associated with this activity?

139. How long have these departments been working and what is the progress of their work?

140. (a) Has any Board been constituted to advise Government regarding the welfare of the backward classes?

(b) What is the composition of such a Board?

(c) How long has it been working?

(d) What are the major suggestions made by this Board from time to time?

(e) How many of these suggestions have been accepted and given effect to by Government?

(f) What were the main reasons for the non-acceptance of other schemes?

141. (a) Have any plans or schemes been recently drawn up specially for the uplift of the backward classes in your State? Please furnish details.

(b) What funds have been sanctioned for these schemes?

142. What steps are being taken to improve the agricultural and occupational activities of the backward classes?

143. (a) What benefits have the various communities of the backward classes derived from these welfare schemes?

(b) Do the benefits offered to the backward classes reach the helpless masses among them? Or, do only the few influential among them actually gain?

(c) Can you suggest means to ensure that all are equally benefited from these measures?

144. Will it be preferable to distribute small benefits to a large number of people or to give substantial benefits to a comparatively smaller number of people?

145. (a) Has any scheme for adult education been launched in your area or State for the backward classes?

(b) If so, how much increase in literacy has been achieved thereby?

(c) How many centres of adult education are being run in your State and how many people have benefited so far from them?

(d) What amounts have been spent on running these centres?

(e) Have any steps been taken to popularise adult education in the backward areas through films and magic lantern slides etc.?

If so, what are the results?

146. Has any legislation been enacted in your State under Article 46 of the Constitution of India so as to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the backward classes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation?

147. (a) Has your State set up till now any Committees or Commissions or Boards of Inquiry for investigating the conditions of backward classes?

(b) If so, when were they set up and what were their terms of reference?

(c) What recommendations were made by them and what action was taken by Government to give effect to them? Please furnish copies of relevant papers.

148. Has your Government undertaken any other activity beneficial to the backward classes which has not been suggested in any part of this questionnaire?

149. To what extent does your State Government consider the programme of welfare of the backward people as one of the important items of expenditure of the State Government? How much has till now been contributed from the State Revenues for this purpose over and above the contribution made by the Central Government?

XIX. AGENCIES SERVING BACKWARD CLASSES

150. What are the agencies working for the uplift of the backward classes in your area or State? Please classify them as follows:

(a) Official agencies, together with the amount spent by them so far.

(b) Non-official agencies, together with their financial conditions:—

(i) If aided by Government, the amount of annual aid;

(ii) If not aided by Government, what are the sources of their income;

(iii) If partly aided by the Government, what are the other sources of their income.

151. (a) Has the State Government created any department for looking after the welfare of the backward classes? If so, when was it set up?

(b) What are the activities and functions of this department?

152. What, in your view, is the best way of serving the backward classes? Should it be through official agency? If so, should it be through a separate department directly under the Central Government? Or, should this work be done by a separate department under the various State Governments? Or, will you prefer that this work is done by the various general departments of the Government along with their other normal work? Or, will it be better to utilise the non-official agencies of social workers for this purpose? Or, would you prefer that the work should be done by collaboration between official and non-official agencies? If so, what should be its composition and the respective duties of the official and non-official sections? Would you subscribe to the view that women social workers should be put at the head of such agencies or at least should be encouraged to be associated with such activities?

153. As a matter of national policy, how far is it advisable to leave this work of serving the backward classes to foreign agencies especially those that are working with proselytization as one of their motives?

154. (a) Is there any truth in the statements commonly heard that foreign or proselytizing agencies sometimes consciously or unconsciously foster anti-national or separatist tendencies?

(b) What is the situation in this regard in your State since the attainment of independence?

155. (a) Which religious Missions have been working in your State and since when?

(b) Please give a brief description of the various types of work that these agencies have been doing in your State.

XX. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

156. What areas have been selected in your State for Community Projects?

157. To what extent are the backward classes likely to be benefited from such projects in your State?

158. (a) How much money has been set apart for the development of the projects in your State?

(b) How much has been actually spent up to this time?

159. Is there any other particularly backward area which should be included in the project schemes for the special benefit of the backward classes of your State?

160. Is full use being made of the voluntary labour which the backward classes are in a position to give in abundance?

XXI. EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES (Vimochit-jati)

NOTE.—Ex-Criminal Tribes mean the Tribes that have been denotified as no longer belonging to the Criminal Tribes.

161. What are the ex-Criminal Tribes in your area or State? Please give the name and number of each class together with its habitat.

162. Please mention to which of the three categories each of these could now be attached viz. to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or other Backward Classes, so that the erstwhile stigma of criminality may be entirely forgotten.

163. (a) What are the social origins of the various communities of the ex-Criminal Tribes in your area or State?

(b) What are the beliefs, omens and taboos peculiar to them?

164. Is it better to allow these people to live together in one segregated locality or should they be dispersed and distributed as widely as possible so that their old habits and beliefs may be forgotten and they may be gradually assimilated in the general population?

165. (a) What special efforts are being made by Government to settle families of these people after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act?

(b) Are these steps adequate?

(c) Please give the number of families of these people settled so far. Please state the amount of Government grant so far given for this purpose.

XXII. SCHEDULED AREAS AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

NOTE.—The questions drawn under this section are intended to secure information so that the Commission could recommend whether any particular communities have to be added to or subtracted from the lists published under the President's orders.

Much more information will have to be secured before the Commission could definitely recommend such changes. But this could be collected better when the Commission goes round to the various States and Areas and observes conditions as they obtain at the present time.

There is a general complaint that in certain parts great injustice is done to the Scheduled Tribes and inhabitants of Scheduled Areas because of the irregular interpretation of rules applying to the list of communities known as Scheduled Tribes. It is necessary, therefore, to make some enquiries about the actual conditions, before revision of rules etc. could be usefully suggested.

166. What, in your opinion, are the various approaches for the solution of the tribal problem in your State? Which, in your opinion, is the most feasible?

167. (a) Can you give the extent of Scheduled Areas of your State? Please supply a map.

(b) Is there any proposal to change these boundaries?

(c) Would you suggest any change?

168. (a) Is habitation in a Scheduled Area a necessary condition for fixing the status of a tribe as Scheduled Tribe?

(b) In case a person or a group belonging to the Scheduled Tribes leaves the Scheduled Area and settles in a non-Scheduled Area, does the person or the group cease to belong to a Scheduled Tribe?

(c) What measures do you suggest to remedy this anomaly?

169. What are the amounts of grants-in-aid that have been received by your State Government from the Centre for the betterment of the condition of the Scheduled Tribes from year to year upto now?

170. (a) How and on what schemes have these grants been spent and to what extent have the Scheduled Tribes people benefited from these schemes?

(b) What amount has your State been spending from its own funds annually, in the Scheduled Areas, over and above the normal expenditure on the general administration, and what proportion does this contribution of your State bear to the aid that it receives from the Centre?

171. What are the main occupations of the tribal people in your State?

172. What would be the approximate percentage of the tribal people who are working as landless labour in your State?

173. Are the tribal people in your State gradually overcoming their segregated existence?

XXIII. SCHEDULED CASTES

174. The main characteristic of Scheduled Castes is the social disability of untouchability. Is this untouchability recognized in any form even among the Non-Hindus?

175. If untouchability is peculiar to the Hindu community and if the other communities do not recognize it, should the concessions and facilities that are specially reserved for the Scheduled Castes be made available to them even after their ceasing to be Hindus? Of course, such a person can claim concessions etc. that are meant for the Backward Classes.

176. Untouchability being abolished by the Constitution and its practice in any form forbidden, what programme would you suggest for the gradual elimination of special concessions given to the Scheduled Castes as a result of the fulfilment of the objective, namely complete eradication of untouchability?

177. What are the specific remedial measures by which traces of untouchability that still persist could be removed speedily?

178. What are the tests to determine whether untouchability has been eradicated in fact?

179. In your State, has any of the Scheduled Castes progressed to such an extent that it has ceased to be untouchable as a caste and it is no longer necessary to keep its name in the list of Scheduled Castes?

XXIV. "ADVANCED" CLASSES

Note—In determining the criteria of backwardness, we shall have necessarily to compare the social and educational standards of communities with those of other communities who are not backward and, therefore, it is necessary to have some information about the "advanced" communities especially because the whole of India itself is so very backward that backwardness of certain communities can be assessed only in comparison with communities which are less backward. We have, therefore, asked for information about the standard of progress obtaining amongst the so-called "advanced" communities.

Another reason why we have asked for information about the "advanced" communities is that there are certain communities amongst the so-called "advanced" communities that are really backward both educationally and socially and they feel that they are victimized because of the traditional classification of castes. They must be given an opportunity to ventilate their grievances so that justice, where it is essential, may be accorded to all really backward communities.

180. What criteria would you suggest for definitely labelling a community as "advanced"?

181. According to your criteria, what communities in your State can be termed as "advanced"?

182. Are there any communities amongst the so-called "advanced" classes in your State which are actually so backward socially, educationally or otherwise that they deserve special consideration from the Government for the amelioration of their condition?

If so, please name such communities, giving particulars and reasons regarding each.

The Commission

Members

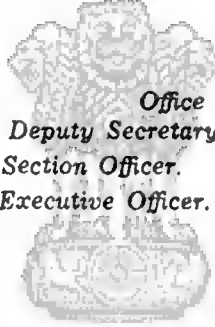
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नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

APPENDIX III

Statistical data regarding economic condition of Backward Classes

Information regarding caste of every family covered during the second stage of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry, viz., the General Family Survey was collected. Each family in the 812 sample villages were classified, in consultation with the State Government and in accordance with the Notifications on the subject issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, into the following castes:—

- (a) Brahmans;
- (b) Kshatriyas;
- (c) Vaishyas;
- (d) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
- (e) Tribal and aboriginal communities;
- (f) Backward classes;
- (g) Others.

The schedules were thereafter coded so as to make them fit for tabulation.

2. For sorting out the Intensive Family Schedules of agricultural labour families belonging to backward classes, the General Family Schedules of Agricultural Labour Families belonging to those castes were sorted out first. Each General Family Schedule contains the family number and after having sorted out 50 General Family Schedules of agricultural labour families belonging to backward classes, the corresponding Intensive Family Schedules having the same family number were sorted out from those of the agricultural labour families covered by the Intensive Family Survey.

In all about 1,400 agricultural labour families were intensively surveyed in the Madras State excluding the two Andhra Zones, during the Agricultural Labour Enquiry of which the backward classes may be estimated to about 230. Out of these about 50 families were selected arbitrarily, i.e., in the order in which they were spotted out from the huge bundle of schedules. Although they were not strictly at random they were taken proportionately from the different zones in the State so that they cover the whole State. A similar procedure was adopted in the selection of 50 backward class agricultural labour families out of an estimated total of 400 such families intensively surveyed in the Agricultural Labour Enquiry.

3. The Intensive Family Schedules contain, among others, information relating to annual income of the family according to various sources, the annual expenditure according to different consumption groups, indebtedness according to sources of loan and purposes of debt etc. In the enclosed statements all these details have been tabulated.

4. As regards literacy, the General Family Schedules of the agricultural labour families contained information regarding the language, which any member of the family could read or write or both read and write. It will be seen from the enclosed statement that very few members of the agricultural labour families belonging to backward classes were literate.

5. The information tabulated shows that in Madras the average annual income per family was Rs. 305 for the 50 backward class agricultural labour families for which data were compiled as against the State average of Rs. 365 taking all classes of agricultural labour families together. Again, the percentage of family income accruing from agricultural wages was

77.6 as against the State figure of 61.9. Similarly, the average annual consumption expenditure per family was Rs. 370 for the State as a whole as against Rs. 334 for backward classes families. The average percentage expenditure on food for the State as a whole was 82.3, the corresponding figure in the case of backward class agricultural labour families being 82.4.

6. In the case of Bihar, the position was as follows. The average annual income of the 50 backward class agricultural labour families for which data were compiled was Rs. 394 as against the State average of Rs. 534 taking all classes of agricultural labour families. The percentage of income accruing from agricultural wages in the case of the former was 80 as against 64 in the case of the latter. The average annual expenditure of the 50 backward class families was Rs. 472 as against Rs. 574 for all agricultural labour families. Again, the percentage expenditure on food in the case of the former was 93 as against 90 for all agricultural labour families.

(DR.) B. RAMAMURTHI



सत्यमेव जयते

MADRAS

Average annual income (Rs.) by sources

Income, expenditure, indebtedness and literacy of Agricultural Labour families in Madrasong to backward classes

INDEBTEDNESS (Rs.)

Agl. labour families.	Caste	Cultiva- tion of land	Wages from Agri. labour	Non-Agl. labour	Occupations other than farming	Other sources	Total income	Food	Clothing and footwear, bedding and household requisite	Fuel & lighting	House-rent and repair	Services & Miscel- laneous	Ceremonies	Total	Total	Semi borrowing			Others	Co-opera- tive socie- ties	Purpose of Loan			LX
																Money lenders	Op- pers	Empley- ers			Produce	Consump- tion	Social & Others	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
1	Setti Balija .. ..	..	63 (58-3)	45 (41-7)	..	..	108 (100-0)	200 (97-5)	11 (2-2)	4 (1-2)	..	28 (8-1)	..	243 (100-0)	153	..	..	26	117	..	..	153	..	No Liter
2	Yadhava	33 (6-7)	354 (71-8)	41 (8-3)	86 (13-2)	..	493 (100-0)	429 (75-2)	24 (4-2)	3 (0-5)	..	40 (7-0)	75 (13-1)	571 (100-0)	330	..	..	..	330	..	..	330	..	"
3	Yadhava .. ..	..	250 (57-9)	..	118 (32-1)	..	368 (100-0)	360 (80-0)	8 (2-5)	3 (0-9)	..	48 (14-3)	8 (1-8)	425 (100-0)	400	..	..	..	400	..	..	400	..	"
4	Setti Balija .. ..	..	63 (61-8)	59 (38-2)	..	..	122 (100-0)	104 (86-7)	8 (5-0)	2 (1-7)	..	8 (0-6)	..	120 (100-0)	15	..	..	..	15	..	..	15	..	"
5	Maravar .. ..	..	215 (58-4)	..	153 (41-6)	..	368 (100-0)	310 (86-5)	..	3 (0-8)	..	45 (12-6)	..	358 (100-0)	150	..	..	..	150	..	..	150	..	"
6	Maravar .. ..	..	445 (94-3)	27 (5-7)	..	..	472 (100-0)	469 (99-1)	87 (9-1)	3 (0-4)	..	74 (10-1)	120 (18-4)	733 (100-0)	239	..	..	..	239	..	..	239	..	"
7	Setti Balija	25 (18-2)	98 (53-5)	28 (35-3)	..	..	154 (100-0)	330 (88-0)	19 (5-1)	3 (0-6)	..	23 (3-1)	..	375 (100-0)	382	172	..	10	..	..	..	182	..	"
8	Maravar .. ..	..	218 (82-0)	48 (18-0)	..	..	267 (100-0)	243 (90-7)	7 (2-6)	3 (1-1)	..	18 (5-6)	..	271 (100-0)	50	..	..	..	50	..	..	50	..	"
9	Setti Balija .. ..	..	84 (100-0)	..	..	..	84 (100-0)	46 (71-9)	6 (9-8)	2 (3-1)	..	10 (10-6)	..	64 (100-0)	33	25	8	..	..	..	..	33	..	"
10	Yadhava	32 (7-4)	359 (82-5)	44 (10-1)	..	..	435 (100-0)	393 (90-7)	28 (5-7)	3 (0-6)	..	28 (5-8)	35 (7-2)	487 (100-0)	180	..	..	..	180	..	..	180	..	"
11	Yadhava	21 (50-1)	361 (88-1)	28 (6-8)	..	..	416 (100-0)	337 (84-3)	11 (2-8)	3 (0-8)	..	45 (11-1)	4 (1-0)	409 (100-0)	220	..	..	..	220	..	..	220	..	"
12	Maravar .. ..	..	218 (87-7)	..	103 (32-3)	..	319 (100-0)	282 (74-8)	..	3 (0-8)	..	33 (8-7)	60 (16-9)	378 (100-0)	111	..	..	..	111	..	..	51	60	"
13	Nadar .. ..	..	127 (100-0)	..	..	..	127 (100-0)	145 (90-7)	..	2 (0-8)	..	17 (5-1)	78 (31-4)	229 (100-0)	63	..	..	..	63	..	..	63	..	"
14	Maravar .. ..	..	120 (84-5)	..	22 (15-5)	..	142 (100-0)	124 (85-5)	..	2 (1-6)	..	19 (18-1)	..	145 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
15	Maravar .. ..	..	378 (85-1)	22 (5-1)	29 (6-8)	..	429 (100-0)	368 (80-1)	5 (1-2)	3 (0-7)	..	35 (8-0)	..	436 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
16	Gounder .. ..	..	168 (98-0)	7 (4-0)	..	..	175 (100-0)	260 (85-8)	6 (1-2)	3 (1-2)	..	24 (10-3)	..	233 (100-0)	40	..	..	..	40	..	..	40	..	"
17	Ambalakara .. ..	..	103 (100-0)	..	..	..	103 (100-0)	90 (84-3)	..	3 (2-9)	..	3 (2-9)	..	105 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
18	Ambalakara	93 (15-2)	511 (83-2)	..	..	10 (1-6)	314 (100-0)	51 (78-1)	34 (5-1)	9 (0-6)	9 (1-4)	68 (13-0)	13 (1-9)	663 (100-0)	114	..	..	..	114	..	..	114	..	"
19	Gounder	127 (24-0)	338 (63-4)	20 (3-3)	47 (8-6)	..	536 (100-0)	455 (74-0)	66 (11-2)	6 (1-0)	..	81 (15-8)	..	588 (100-0)	8	..	8	..	..	..	..	8	..	"
20	Uppara .. ..	..	307 (84-3)	37 (15-7)	..	..	364 (100-0)	357 (88-4)	16 (4-0)	2 (0-5)	..	29 (7-1)	..	404 (100-0)	47	..	2	20	26	..	..	47	..	"
21	Gounder .. ..	..	167 (84-8)	2 (1-0)	29 (14-2)	..	197 (100-0)	181 (78-4)	18 (7-9)	4 (1-7)	6 (2-2)	20 (8-8)	..	228 (100-0)	37	..	22	..	15	..	..	37	..	"
22	Ambalakara	130 (34-7)	245 (55-3)	..	..	..	375 (100-0)	300 (78-6)	20 (5-2)	3 (0-8)	..	42 (11-0)	10 (2-3)	382 (100-0)	126	..	..	..	126	..	..	126	..	"

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	
23	Setti Rajia ..	69 (27.0)	187 (73.0)	..	..	..	256 (100.0)	341 (88.3)	19 (4.9)	3 (0.8)	..	23 (6.0)	..	385 (100.0)	124	134	..	..	..	..	..	..	124	..	No literacy.
24	Ambalakaran ..	94 (16.4)	478 (83.6)	..	..	..	372 (100.0)	485 (82.5)	36 (6.0)	3 (0.5)	10 (1.7)	39 (6.5)	17 (2.8)	670 (100.0)	116	..	..	..	116	..	..	..	116	..	"
25	Ambalakaran ..	264 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	264 (100.0)	318 (90.1)	..	3 (0.9)	..	..	..	321 (100.0)	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	..	"
26	Ambalakaran ..	50 (11.0)	369 (88.1)	..	..	..	419 (100.0)	252 (58.2)	37 (8.6)	..	13 (3.0)	67 (20.2)	38 (8.8)	431 (100.0)	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	..	"
27	Ambalakaran ..	77 (33.5)	153 (66.5)	..	..	..	230 (100.0)	209 (82.6)	15 (6.5)	3 (1.2)	9 (3.6)	14 (5.5)	3 (1.2)	253 (100.0)	50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	50	..	"
28	Yadhava ..	..	354 (100.0)	..	..	..	354 (100.0)	239 (81.0)	15 (5.1)	4 (1.4)	..	37 (12.5)	..	295 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
29	Kurumba ..	..	121 (100.0)	..	..	..	121 (100.0)	160 (82.6)	9 (6.4)	2 (1.7)	..	10 (9.3)	..	121 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
30	Irular ..	..	344 (100.0)	..	..	..	344 (100.0)	298 (86.5)	..	2 (0.6)	..	9 (2.9)	..	309 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	"
31	Yadhava ..	..	671 (100.0)	..	..	..	671 (100.0)	605 (85.5)	48 (6.8)	6 (0.8)	10 (1.4)	39 (5.5)	..	708 (100.0)	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	"
32	Gounder ..	..	29 (90.7)	4 (9.3)	..	..	43 (100.0)	51 (87.9)	3 (5.2)	..	..	4 (6.9)	..	58 (100.0)	14	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	No. of persons in the family—8. The head of the family is literate. He can read and write Tamil.
33	Viswakama ..	..	84 (100.0)	..	..	..	84 (100.0)	112 (91.1)	..	2 (1.6)	..	9 (7.3)	..	123 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No literacy.
34	Vanar ..	..	330 (77.6)	..	85 (22.4)	..	425 (100.0)	372 (84.1)	37 (8.4)	7 (1.6)	..	20 (5.9)	..	442 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—7. Only one person knows Tamil.
35	Gounder ..	..	287 (100.0)	..	..	..	287 (100.0)	361 (96.5)	..	7 (2.2)	..	4 (1.3)	..	312 (100.0)	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—7. Only one person knows Tamil.
36	Gounder ..	..	270 (43.1)	46 (56.9)	..	..	628 (100.0)	565 (90.9)	17 (2.7)	7 (1.1)	..	33 (5.3)	..	662 (100.0)	440	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	440	..	No. of persons in the family—7. Only one person knows Tamil.
37	Gounder ..	..	188 (40.9)	255 (52.7)	31 (6.4)	..	434 (100.0)	420 (86.6)	18 (3.8)	3 (0.6)	..	33 (7.0)	..	474 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.
38	Gounder ..	..	62 (38.9)	..	7 (10.1)	..	69 (100.0)	84 (98.8)	..	..	..	1 (1.2)	..	85 (100.0)	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	Do.
39	Gounder ..	..	263 (94.6)	15 (5.4)	..	..	278 (100.0)	271 (97.8)	..	2 (0.7)	..	4 (1.5)	..	277 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.
40	Gounder ..	..	305 (78.2)	80 (20.8)	..	..	382 (100.0)	310 (84.2)	14 (3.8)	7 (1.9)	6 (1.6)	15 (4.1)	16 (4.4)	363 (100.0)	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	Do.
41	Padayachi ..	..	30 (13.9)	126 (53.3)	60 (27.8)	..	213 (100.0)	169 (83.8)	9 (4.7)	1 (0.5)	..	10 (5.2)	3 (1.6)	192 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.
42	Padayachi ..	..	76 (21.8)	145 (41.7)	127 (26.5)	..	348 (100.0)	221 (64.3)	21 (6.2)	2 (0.6)	7 (2.0)	63 (18.5)	27 (7.9)	341 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.
43	Padayachi ..	..	85 (23.9)	157 (44.1)	114 (32.0)	..	356 (100.0)	213 (78.9)	24 (8.3)	2 (0.7)	..	23 (8.5)	8 (3.0)	370 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.
44	Padayachi ..	..	29 (13.6)	184 (86.4)	..	..	213 (100.0)	143 (74.5)	19 (9.9)	1 (0.5)	..	28 (14.6)	1 (0.5)	192 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—3. The head of the family is illiterate and knows Tamil.
45	Padachayachi ..	..	88 (34.4)	168 (65.6)	..	..	256 (100.0)	170 (77.3)	20 (9.1)	1 (0.4)	3 (1.4)	21 (9.5)	5 (2.3)	229 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—4. The head of the family is literate and knows Tamil.
46	Padayachi ..	..	28 (14.8)	161 (85.2)	..	..	189 (100.0)	164 (82.0)	14 (7.0)	2 (1.0)	..	18 (8.0)	2 (1.0)	200 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—4. The head of the family is literate and knows Tamil.
47	Padayachi ..	..	99 (47.6)	109 (52.4)	..	..	208 (100.0)	179 (81.7)	11 (5.0)	2 (0.9)	..	22 (10.1)	5 (2.3)	219 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No literacy.
48	Yadhava ..	..	67 (17.08)	271 (71.9)	..	39 (10.3)	377 (100.0)	395 (86.4)	20 (4.4)	5 (1.1)	..	37 (8.1)	..	457 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No. of persons in the family—4. The head of the family is literate and knows Tamil.
49	Yadhava ..	..	92 (21.1)	344 (78.9)	..	..	436 (100.0)	377 (86.5)	21 (4.8)	4 (0.9)	10 (2.3)	24 (5.5)	..	436 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	No literacy.
50	Vanar ..	..	..	128 (80.5)	..	31 (19.5)	150 (100.0)	110 (85.4)	8 (6.2)	1 (0.8)	..	10 (7.7)	..	122 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Do.

Footnote—Figures in brackets are percentages to total.

Source—All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, 1950-51.

STATE-BIHAR

Income, Expenditure, Indebtedness and Literacy of Agricultural Labour Families belonging to backward classes

A.L. Fami- lies Serial No.	Caste	Income (Rs.)						Expenditure (Rs.)							Indebtedness (Rs.)									Literacy
		Annual income by sources						Annual expenditure by consumption groups							Source of debt					Purpose of debt				
		Land	Agricul- tural labour	Non- agricul- tural labour	Occupa- tions other than farming	Other sources	Total	Food	Clothing & footwear	Fuel & lighting	House- rent & repairs	Domestic & func- tions	Services & miscel- laneous	Total	Total debt	Employ- ers	Shop- keepers	Money lenders	Others	Produc- tion	Consump- tion	Social purposes	Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1	Ksora	..	262 (85-8)	40 (13-2)	..	..	302 (100-0)	407 (57-0)	13 (2-3)	3 (0-6)	30 (6-4)	..	15 (3-2)	453 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Noniya	..	378 (100-0)	..	..	..	378 (100-0)	397 (88-2)	15 (3-3)	..	..	20 (4-5)	417 (100-0)	..	50	50	..	..	..	..	50	..	..	..
3	Noniya	..	54 (13-4)	350 (86-6)	..	..	404 (100-0)	451 (86-7)	32 (6-8)	4 (0-7)	6 (1-1)	5 (0-9)	27 (4-8)	555 (100-0)	154	154	..	..	..	..	154	..	..	..
4	Noniya	..	98 (16-2)	376 (83-5)	..	120 (20-3)	522 (100-0)	565 (85-1)	14 (2-0)	..	..	24 (3-9)	29 (4-4)	664 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Kumbar	..	395 (100-0)	..	..	..	395 (100-0)	436 (91-6)	16 (3-4)	3 (0-6)	5 (1-1)	6 (1-2)	10 (2-1)	476 (100-0)	31	31	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	..
6	Ksora	..	358 (96-0)	..	..	15 (4-0)	373 (100-0)	462 (89-1)	33 (6-0)	3 (0-5)	..	5 (0-9)	19 (3-5)	552 (100-0)	153	229	..	..	14	..	153	..	..	..
7	Karu	..	324 (99-0)	..	143 (30-6)	..	467 (100-0)	567 (90-1)	25 (4-0)	4 (0-6)	20 (3-2)	..	13 (2-4)	629 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Mali	..	10 (4-8)	85 (43-8)	..	112 (51-6)	217 (100-0)	303 (90-8)	4 (0-9)	5 (1-2)	..	14 (3-2)	17 (3-9)	443 (100-0)	295	..	..	295	..	..	295	..	..	..
9	Mali	..	6 (1-6)	271 (70-7)	..	106 (27-7)	383 (100-0)	417 (81-1)	21 (4-1)	5 (1-0)	45 (8-7)	22 (4-3)	4 (0-8)	514 (100-0)	138	..	..	128	10	..	6	133	..	Out of 4 persons person knows
10	Jolaha	..	89 (13-5)	199 (86-9)	3 (1-0)	48 (16-6)	298 (100-0)	311 (89-4)	5 (1-4)	..	..	..	26 (7-5)	346 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	Gope	..	85 (43-2)	125 (56-8)	..	..	220 (100-0)	428 (85-1)	..	5 (1-1)	3 (1-8)	7 (1-6)	2 (0-4)	450 (100-0)	246	35	..	101	110	..	246	..	..	..
12	Karu	..	288 (82-8)	38 (10-9)	22 (6-3)	..	348 (100-0)	465 (91-9)	..	7 (1-4)	23 (4-5)	5 (1-0)	6 (1-2)	546 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Kurmi	..	216 (55-0)	132 (33-6)	45 (11-4)	..	393 (100-0)	411 (83-8)	21 (4-3)	3 (0-7)	..	..	3 (0-7)	438 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Karu	..	27 (9-9)	189 (65-7)	67 (24-4)	..	274 (100-0)	262 (84-2)	17 (5-5)	5 (1-6)	..	..	27 (3-7)	311 (100-0)	25	..	..	..	25	..	25	..	..	..
15	Karu	..	217 (79-2)	57 (20-8)	..	..	274 (100-0)	329 (89-4)	24 (6-7)	4 (1-1)	..	6 (1-4)	5 (1-4)	358 (100-0)	88	..	..	88	..	..	88	..	..	..
16	Noniya	..	292 (81-1)	68 (18-9)	..	..	360 (100-0)	368 (98-4)	..	4 (1-1)	..	..	2 (0-5)	374 (100-0)	60	..	26	43	..	..	60	..	..	..
17	Turha	..	135 (52-3)	12 (4-5)	40 (15-2)	74 (28-0)	264 (100-0)	319 (96-6)	5 (1-6)	4 (1-2)	..	..	2 (0-6)	321 (100-0)	35	..	8	27	..	..	35	..	..	..
18	Turha	..	91 (46-0)	85 (45-0)	..	..	198 (100-0)	243 (95-3)	..	4 (1-5)	..	..	3 (1-2)	259 (100-0)	160	..	..	160	..	..	160	..	..	..
19	Turha	..	195 (82-1)	..	51 (25-8)	38 (12-6)	314 (100-0)	333 (89-5)	7 (1-9)	5 (1-3)	20 (5-4)	..	7 (1-9)	372 (100-0)	75	..	..	75	..	..	75	..	..	..
20	Alur	..	57 (16-5)	215 (82-3)	..	73 (21-2)	345 (100-0)	320 (95-3)	9 (2-7)	3 (0-9)	..	..	2 (0-6)	334 (100-0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Dhanuk	..	186 (100-0)	..	..	..	186 (100-0)	214 (98-1)	..	5 (0-9)	..	..	2 (1-0)	208 (100-0)	5	..	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..
22	Gola	..	5 (1-6)	230 (75-2)	..	71 (23-2)	306 (100-0)	285 (93-2)	12 (3-0)	4 (1-3)	..	..	5 (1-6)	308 (100-0)	80	..	..	80	..	..	80	..	..	..

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
23	Gope .. ..	..	297 (91.5)	16 (6.5)	5 (2.0)	..	248 (100.0)	271 (94.4)	10 (3.5)	4 (1.4)	..	..	2 (0.7)	287 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	Jolaha .. ..	..	581 (93.0)	44 (7.0)	..	..	606 (100.0)	725 (96.9)	10 (1.3)	6 (0.8)	..	..	11 (1.9)	753 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25	Jolaha	41 (7.0)	476 (81.9)	36 (4.5)	..	40 (6.9)	583 (100.0)	570 (94.6)	9 (1.5)	5 (0.8)	12 (2.0)	..	7 (1.1)	609 (100.0)	47	47	..	..	..	..	47	..	..	..
26	Jolaha .. ..	..	455 (96.8)	15 (3.2)	..	..	470 (100.0)	580 (91.1)	35 (5.5)	4 (0.6)	..	..	18 (2.6)	637 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	Jolaha .. ..	..	184 (96.2)	94 (33.8)	..	..	278 (100.0)	313 (98.1)	2 (0.3)	3 (1.0)	..	..	1 (0.3)	319 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	Jolaha .. ..	..	366 (91.0)	35 (9.0)	..	..	391 (100.0)	351 (93.2)	10 (2.4)	4 (1.0)	..	..	14 (3.4)	406 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
29	Jolaha	68 (10.7)	506 (79.0)	60 (7.9)	15 (2.4)	..	633 (100.0)	554 (94.2)	18 (2.9)	4 (0.6)	..	..	14 (2.3)	606 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Ahîr	96 (16.8)	476 (93.2)	..	..	..	572 (100.0)	519 (94.7)	23 (4.2)	3 (0.5)	..	..	3 (0.9)	545 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Ahîr .. ..	..	189 (100.0)	..	..	..	189 (100.0)	212 (96.1)	..	2 (0.9)	..	..	..	214 (100.0)	642	..	..	642	..	..	642	..	..	..
32	Bari .. ..	..	253 (89.4)	29 (7.1)	10 (3.5)	..	284 (100.0)	287 (97.0)	3 (1.0)	4 (1.3)	..	..	2 (0.7)	296 (100.0)	122	..	..	122	..	118	9	..	..	..
33	Dhamk	32 (8.3)	291 (75.6)	..	82 (16.1)	..	385 (100.0)	356 (94.9)	16 (2.7)	4 (1.1)	..	..	8 (1.3)	375 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Tatwas .. ..	..	456 (96.0)	16 (3.4)	..	..	476 (100.0)	501 (95.2)	12 (2.3)	1 (0.2)	..	..	12 (3.3)	526 (100.0)	30	30	8	..	..	..	30	..	..	..
35	Karu .. ..	..	499 (100.0)	..	..	..	490 (100.0)	590 (93.2)	28 (4.6)	1 (0.1)	..	..	13 (2.1)	633 (100.0)	76	76	..	..	..	..	76	..	..	..
36	Dhamk .. ..	..	424 (100.0)	..	..	..	424 (100.0)	441 (93.2)	17 (3.6)	9 (0.2)	..	..	14 (3.0)	473 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Tali	60 (7.7)	601 (92.3)	..	..	..	651 (100.0)	565 (92.3)	20 (3.6)	1 (1.1)	8 (1.3)	..	18 (3.0)	612 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Mahbar	24 (8.3)	374 (91.7)	..	..	..	408 (100.0)	457 (96.4)	..	1 (0.2)	..	..	16 (3.4)	474 (100.0)	46	46	..	..	..	..	46	..	..	..
39	Kalwar	143 (38.4)	259 (61.6)	..	..	..	372 (100.0)	484 (98.2)	25 (4.8)	..	..	..	16 (3.0)	525 (100.0)	15	15	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..
40	Bind	8 (2.0)	402 (98.0)	..	..	..	410 (100.0)	457 (98.1)	..	..	..	..	9 (1.9)	496 (100.0)	36	..	..	36	..	..	36	..	..	..
41	Bind	81 (39.9)	258 (76.1)	..	..	..	339 (100.0)	708 (94.9)	11 (2.1)	..	..	..	18 (3.0)	530 (100.0)	82	82	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..
42	Karu	72 (18.0)	328 (82.0)	..	..	..	409 (100.0)	494 (97.6)	..	..	..	..	12 (2.4)	506 (100.0)	73	73	..	..	..	..	73	..	..	..
43	Kalwar	297 (44.4)	297 (35.6)	..	..	..	594 (100.0)	707 (98.1)	..	..	..	..	14 (1.9)	721 (100.0)	46	46	6	..	..	..	46	..	..	Out of 7 persons in the family 1 person knows Hindi.
44	Bind	27 (6.5)	386 (93.5)	..	..	..	419 (100.0)	569 (97.1)	..	..	..	..	15 (2.9)	524 (100.0)	82	82	..	..	..	..	82	..	..	..
45	Jolaha	36 (6.6)	235 (96.4)	61 (19.4)	..	83 (16.6)	417 (100.0)	476 (95.7)	5 (1.0)	6 (1.2)	..	8 (1.6)	16 (3.1)	577 (100.0)	104	..	..	80	15	..	104	..	..	..
46	Keori	7 (1.4)	419 (82.0)	29 (5.7)	56 (10.9)	..	511 (100.0)	470 (94.0)	4 (0.8)	4 (0.8)	..	..	22 (4.4)	500 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
47	Kumhar .. ..	..	430 (81.4)	..	98 (15.6)	..	528 (100.0)	487 (90.3)	14 (3.6)	3 (0.6)	..	..	35 (6.5)	539 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48	Keori .. ..	..	522 (90.6)	29 (5.0)	20 (3.3)	5 (0.9)	576 (100.0)	561 (99.8)	17 (2.7)	4 (0.6)	25 (4.0)	..	18 (2.9)	625 (100.0)	9	..	9	..	..	..	9	..	..	..
49	Keori .. ..	..	295 (73.9)	29 (7.3)	42 (10.5)	33 (8.3)	399 (100.0)	460 (94.1)	6 (1.2)	3 (0.6)	..	..	20 (4.1)	459 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50	Kahar .. ..	..	497 (93.8)	29 (6.2)	..	..	466 (100.0)	497 (92.4)	6 (1.1)	4 (0.7)	..	..	31 (5.8)	558 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note—Figures in brackets denote percentages to the total.
Source—All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry 1960-51.

APPENDIX IV

Statement showing literacy percentage in various states during the years 1931, 1941 and 1951

Name of the State	Literacy percentage		
	1951	1941	1931
1. Uttar Pradesh	10·8	8·4	4·7
2. Bihar	12·2	9·3	4·3
3. Orissa	15·8	8·5	5·2
4. West Bengal	24·5	19·9	11·6
5. Chandernagore	42·3	..	..
6. Assam	18·1	11·4	6·8
7. Manipur	11·4	..	3·3
8. Tripura	15·5	..	1·1
9. Sikkim	7·3	..	3·0
10. Madras	19·3	14·4	9·3
11. Mysore	20·3	..	9·1
12. Travancore-Cochin	46·4	..	24·7
13. Coorg	27·2	..	15·5
14. Bombay	24·6	18·9	8·6
15. Saurashtra	18·5	..	N.A.
16. Kutch	17·1	..	N.A.
17. Madhya Pradesh	13·5	9·9	5·1
18. Madhya Bharat	10·8	..	5·1
19. Hyderabad	9·2	..	4·1
20. Bhopal	8·2	..	3·1
21. Vindhya Pradesh	6·1	..	3·5
22. Rajasthan	8·4	..	3·6
23. Punjab	16·1	12·0	5·2
24. PEPSU	12·0	..	4·0
25. Ajmer	20·1	..	10·6
26. Delhi	38·4	..	14·1
27. Bilaspur and Himachal Pradesh	7·7	..	3·5
28. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	25·8	..	N.A.

APPENDIX V

Statement showing total number of students belonging to scheduled castes and other backward classes in Primary, Middle and High Schools and in Arts and Science Colleges during the year 1952-53

State	Total Number of Students in—			
	Primary Schools	Middle Schools	High Schools	Art & Science Colleges
1	2	3	4	5
1. Assam	2,21,224	25,534	19,586	..
2. Bihar	7,19,680	1,46,905	92,184	6,547
3. Bombay	6,61,586	6,752	22,921	1,269
4. Madhya Pradesh*	1,74,564	25,522	7,595	531
5. Madras	22,73,379	30,629	2,64,125	12,951
6. Orissa	1,17,974	6,392	3,556	130
7. Punjab	53,076	16,015	17,235	780
8. Uttar Pradesh	7,07,678	72,448	49,013	..
9. West Bengal	3,44,385	28,324	38,132	2,185
10. Hyderabad	71,843	5,476	6,379	177
11. Madhya Bharat	24,432	5,279	529	28
12. Mysore	70,556	9,519	6,039	355
13. PEPSU	6,476	3,052	8,452	139
14. Rajasthan* .. .. .	..	..	..	140
15. Saurashtra	50,476	2,169	2,133	104
16. Travancore-Cochin	1,33,011	26,035	16,046	..
17. Ajmer	13,475	655	725	54
18. Andaman & Nicobar *Islands	1,048	..	897	..
19. Bhopal	1,458	962	229	39
20. Coorg	3,177	4,018	909	43
21. Delhi	8,054	972	1,599	93
22. Himachal Pradesh* (including Bilaspur).	2,577	1,274	829	4
23. Kutch	724	19	7	..
24. Manipur	37,307	4,838	8,758	355
25. Tripura	8,350	1,091	855	29
26. Vindhya Pradesh	12,499	4,101	366	29
INDIA	57,19,099	4,27,981	5,69,099	25,973

* Figures relate to 1951-52.

APPENDIX VI
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Resolution

New Delhi, the 13th September 1950

No. 42/21/49-NGS—The policy of the Government of India in regard to communal representation in the Services immediately before the coming into force of the new Constitution was that in appointments made by open competition 12½ per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment were reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes while in regard to posts and services for which recruitment was made otherwise than by competition the principal communities in the country were given appointments in proportion to their population. Certain reservations were also made for Anglo-Indians, in services with which they had special past associations.

2. The Government of India have now reviewed their policy in this regard in the light of the provisions of the Constitution of India which lay down *inter alia* that with certain exceptions no discrimination shall be made in the matter of appointments to the services under the State on grounds of race, religion, caste, etc. The exceptions are that special provision shall be made for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in all services and for Anglo-Indians in those services in which they had special reservations on the 14th August 1947. Pending the determination of the figures of population at the Census of 1951 the Government of India have decided to make the following reservations in recruitment to posts and services under them:—

- (a) *Scheduled Castes*—The existing reservation of 12½ per cent of vacancies filled by direct recruitment in favour of the Scheduled Castes will continue in the case of recruitment to posts and services made, on an all-India basis, by open competition, i.e., through the Union Public Service Commission or by means of open competitive tests held by any other authority. Where recruitment is made otherwise than by open competition the reservation for Scheduled Castes will be 16-2/3 per cent as at present.
- (b) *Scheduled Tribes*—Both in recruitment by open competition and in recruitment made otherwise than by open competition there will be a reservation in favour of members of Scheduled Tribes of 5 per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment.
- (c) *Anglo-Indians*—The reservations which were in force in favour of Anglo-Indians in the Railway Services, the Posts and Telegraphs Department and the Customs Department on the 14th August 1947, will be continued subject to the provisions of Article 336 of the Constitution.

3. The reservations prescribed in the previous paragraph will apply in the case of recruitment made on an all India basis. Under the Constitution all citizens of India are eligible for consideration for appointment to posts and services under the Central Government irrespective of their domicile or place of birth and there can be no recruitment to any Central Service which is confined by rule to the inhabitants of any specified area. In practice however recruitment to Class I and Class II Services and posts is likely to attract candidates from all over India and will be on a truly all India basis, while for the majority of Class III services and posts which are filled otherwise than through Union Public Service Commission only those residing in the area or locality in which the office is located are

likely to apply. In the latter class of cases the percentages of reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be fixed by Government taking into account the population of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in that area.

4. (1) The orders regarding reservation of vacancies in favour of the various communities will not apply to recruitment by promotion which will continue to be made as heretofore irrespective of communal considerations and on the basis of seniority and/or merit as the case may be.

(2) In all cases a minimum standard of qualifications will be prescribed and the reservations will be subject to the over-all condition that candidates of the requisite communities possessing the prescribed qualifications and suitable in all respects for the appointment in question, are forthcoming in sufficient numbers for the vacancies reserved for them.

(3) The maximum age limits prescribed for appointment to a service or post will be increased by three years (later increased to 5 years) in case of candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the fees prescribed for admission to any examination or selection will be reduced to one-fourth in their case.

(4) For the purposes of these orders, a person shall be held to be a member of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes, as the case may be, if he belongs to a caste or a tribe which under the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, or under the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, has been declared to be Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe for the area in which he and/or his family ordinarily resides(s). Separate instructions will issue declaring the castes and tribes which should be considered as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of these orders in Part C States and Part D territories.

(5) These orders are applicable to all services under the control of the Government of India including posts and services in States in Part C of the First Schedule to the Constitution and will be deemed to have come into effect on the 26th January 1950.

5. The orders contained in the Ministry of Home Affairs Resolution No. 16/10/47-Estt., dated the 21st August 1947, Office Memorandum No. 31/93/47-Estt., dated the 22nd August 1947 and other orders issued on the basis of those orders are hereby cancelled.

नवम्बर नयन

Order—Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be communicated to all Ministries of the Government of India, all Chief Commissioners, the Cabinet Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Secretariat, the Partition Secretariat, Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment, Principal, I.A.S. Training School, Director, Secretariat Training School, Commandant, Police Training College, Mount Abu, Director, Intelligence Bureau, and the Union Public Service Commission, for information and guidance; and Supreme Court of India, the Comptroller and Auditor General and all State Governments, for information; and also that the Resolution be published in the Gazette of India.

S. B. BAPAT
Joint Secretary

APPENDIX VII

SUMMARY I—Statement showing the number of Gazetted appointment held by different communities in several grades in the Mysore State Services on 31st March 1952.

No.	Community	Rs. 150 to Rs. 300		Rs. 300 to Rs. 500		Rs. 500 to Rs. 800		Rs. 800 and above		Total	
		Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Vokkaligars	56	10.0	49	7.9	10	6.4	5	5.2	120	8.3
2	Lingayets	77	13.9	69	11.1	17	10.3	9	9.3	172	11.9
3	Kurubars	23	4.1	5	0.8	..	..	1	1.0	29	2.0
4	Bedars	4	0.7	1	0.1	..	..	..	..	5	0.3
5	Brahmins	207	36.9	238	37.8	86	52.1	40	41.2	369	39.4
6	Gangakulas	2	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0.1
7	Yadavas	2	0.4	2	0.3	1	0.6	..	..	5	0.3
8	Banajigas	11	1.9	7	1.1	2	1.1	1	1.0	21	1.5
9	Viswakarnas	3	0.5	3	0.5	..	..	..	..	6	0.4
10	Upparas	2	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0.1
11	Kunchitigas	5	0.8	5	0.8	..	..	3	3.1	13	0.9
12	Agasas	1	0.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.1
13	Kanabiyas	16	2.8	25	4.0	8	4.8	4	4.1	53	3.7
14	Other Caste Hindus (including Sadars).	81	14.5	114	18.3	21	12.7	15	15.5	231	16.0
15	Depressed Classes	12	2.1	11	1.9	2	1.2	..	..	25	1.7
16	Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans	23	4.1	37	5.9	11	6.6	9	9.3	80	5.5
17	Muslims	31	5.5	41	6.6	6	3.6	7	7.2	85	5.9
18	Other Communities (Jains, Parsees, Bhuddists; etc.)	4	0.7	18	2.9	1	0.6	3	3.1	26	1.9
	Total	560	100.0	623	100.0	165	100.0	97	100.0	1,445	100.0

APPENDIX VII—contd.

SUMMARY II—Statement showing the number and percentage of Non-gazetted appointments in superior service held by different communities in several grades in the Mysore State Services on 31st March 1952.

Serial No.	Community	Ministerial											
		Upper Sub-ordinate Service		Division or I Class or I Grade		II Division or II Class or II Grade		III Division or III Class or III Grade		Total			
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Brahmins	223	55.9	1,090	44.9	2,318	31.6	469	35.2	4,100	38.3	4,100	38.3
2	Vokkaligars	16	4.0	165	6.9	459	7.1	145	10.8	785	7.4	785	7.4
3	Lingayets	32	8.0	191	7.8	646	9.2	124	9.1	993	9.4	993	9.4
4	Kurubars	6	1.5	27	1.1	153	2.2	47	3.5	233	2.2	233	2.2
5	Bedars	1	0.2	15	0.6	45	0.5	11	0.7	72	0.7	72	0.7
6	Gangakulas	..	..	9	0.3	23	0.4	10	0.7	52	0.4	52	0.4
7	Yadavas	2	0.5	15	0.6	53	0.7	16	1.3	86	0.9	86	0.9
8	Kshatriyas	8	2.0	58	1.9	196	2.7	30	2.3	292	2.8	292	2.8
9	Banajigas	8	2.0	84	3.4	207	3.1	34	2.6	333	3.2	333	3.2
10	Viswakarnas	1	0.2	34	1.3	130	2.1	26	1.9	191	1.7	191	1.7
11	Upparas	1	0.2	11	0.4	19	0.3	4	0.3	35	0.3	35	0.3
12	Kunchitigas	3	0.8	27	1.1	47	0.6	5	0.4	82	0.7	82	0.7
13	Agasas	1	0.2	6	0.2	31	0.3	11	0.8	49	0.4	49	0.4
14	Other Caste Hindus (including Sadars)	52	13.2	380	14.9	855	18.3	157	11.7	1,424	13.2	1,424	13.2
15	Depressed Classes	3	0.8	68	2.7	464	7.6	86	6.6	621	5.7	621	5.7
16	Muslims	20	5.0	162	6.9	520	7.9	113	8.7	815	7.5	815	7.5
17	Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians & Europeans.	22	5.5	96	3.9	325	4.7	37	2.7	480	4.4	480	4.4
18	Other Communities (Jains, Parsis, Buddhists, Jews, Sikhs, Tribes and Others)	1	0.2	25	1.1	55	0.7	7	0.7	88	0.8	88	0.8
	Total	400	100.0	2,443	100.0	6,556	100.0	1,332	100.0	10,731	100.0	10,731	100.0

APPENDIX VII—contd.

SUMMARY III—Statement showing number and percentage of Non-gazetted appointments in superior service held by different communities in several Mysore State Services on 31st March 1952.

Serial No.	Community	Executive											
		Upper Subordinate services		I Division or I Class or I Grade		II Division or II Class or II Grade		III Division or III Class or III Grade		Total			
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
1	Brahmins	489	43.4	1,957	44.6	2,022	28.6	5,152	24.5	10,620	28.7		
2	Vokkalgars	85	7.3	308	6.8	1,047	9.5	2,437	11.4	3,877	10.4		
3	Langayets	115	10.0	319	7.1	1,338	12.5	3,220	15.3	4,992	13.4		
4	Kurubars	11	0.8	53	1.2	199	1.9	388	1.9	651	1.8		
5	Bedars	1	0.1	17	0.5	89	0.9	311	1.4	418	1.4		
6	Gangakulas	4	0.3	18	0.5	67	0.7	161	0.7	250	0.7		
7	Yadavas	10	0.8	16	0.3	47	0.4	98	0.4	171	0.4		
8	Kshatriyas	37	3.2	151	3.4	277	2.7	223	1.9	688	1.9		
9	Banaigas	12	1.0	115	2.6	257	2.4	408	1.8	792	2.1		
10	Viswakarmas	3	0.3	21	0.6	764	1.5	464	2.4	652	1.7		
11	Upparas	1	0.1	8	0.2	31	0.3	85	0.4	125	0.4		
12	Kunchitigas	10	0.9	31	0.7	114	1.4	130	0.6	285	0.8		
13	Agasas	4	0.3	12	0.3	43	0.4	172	0.6	231	0.6		
14	Other Caste Hindus (including Sedars)	179	15.6	565	12.3	1,366	12.9	2,320	11.0	4,429	11.9		
15	Depressed Classes	33	2.7	79	1.8	518	4.9	1,521	7.4	2,151	5.7		
16	Muslims	83	7.2	384	8.7	1,107	10.4	2,668	12.6	4,242	11.4		
17	Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians & European	63	5.4	310	7.2	823	7.8	1,084	5.2	2,280	6.1		
18	Other Communities (Jains, Parsis, Jews, Buddhists, Sikhs, Tribes and Others)	8	0.6	49	1.2	83	0.8	119	0.5	259	0.6		
	Total	1,148	100.0	4,413	100.0	10,591	100.0	20,961	100.0	37,113	100.0		

APPENDIX VII—contd.
SUMMARY IV—Statement showing the number and percentage of non-gazetted appointments in superior service held by different communities in several grades in the Mysore State Services on 31st March 1952.

Serial No.	Communities	Upper Subordinate Service		I Division or I Class or I Grade		II Division or II Class or II Grade		III Division or III Class or III Grade		Total	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Brahmins	712	46.0	3,047	44.4	5,340	31.6	5,621	25.6	14,720	30.8
2	Vokkaligars	101	6.5	743	6.9	1,506	9.7	2,562	11.7	4,663	9.8
3	Lingayets	147	10.0	510	7.4	1,934	11.7	3,344	15.3	5,985	12.6
4	Kurubars	17	1.1	80	1.2	352	2.2	435	1.9	894	1.9
5	Bedars	2	0.1	33	0.5	124	0.7	322	1.4	490	1.0
6	Gangakulals	4	0.3	27	0.4	100	0.5	171	0.7	302	0.6
7	Yadavas	13	0.8	31	0.5	114	0.5	114	0.5	257	0.5
8	Kabaktyas	45	2.9	204	3.0	473	2.7	253	1.1	980	2.1
9	Banajigas	20	1.2	199	2.8	464	2.7	442	1.9	1,135	2.3
10	Viswakarnas	4	0.3	55	0.8	294	1.7	490	2.1	843	1.7
11	Uppars	2	0.1	19	0.3	50	0.3	89	0.4	10	0.4
12	Kunchitigas	13	0.8	58	0.9	161	0.9	135	0.6	367	0.7
13	Agasas	5	0.3	18	0.3	74	0.4	183	0.8	280	0.5
14	Other Caste Hindus (including Sedars)	231	14.5	925	13.4	2,299	12.9	2,477	11.4	5,853	12.4
15	Depressed Classes	36	2.3	143	2.4	982	5.6	1,607	7.1	2,772	5.7
16	Muslims	103	6.8	546	7.9	1,627	9.6	2,781	12.0	5,057	10.6
17	Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, etc.	85	5.4	406	5.9	1,148	6.6	1,121	5.0	2,760	5.7
18	Other Communities (Jains, Parsis, Buddhists, Jews, Sikhs, Tribes and Others)	9	0.6	74	1.0	138	0.7	125	0.5	347	0.7
	Total	1,548	100.0	6,856	100.0	17,147	100.0	22,293	100.0	47,844	100.0

APPENDIX VIII

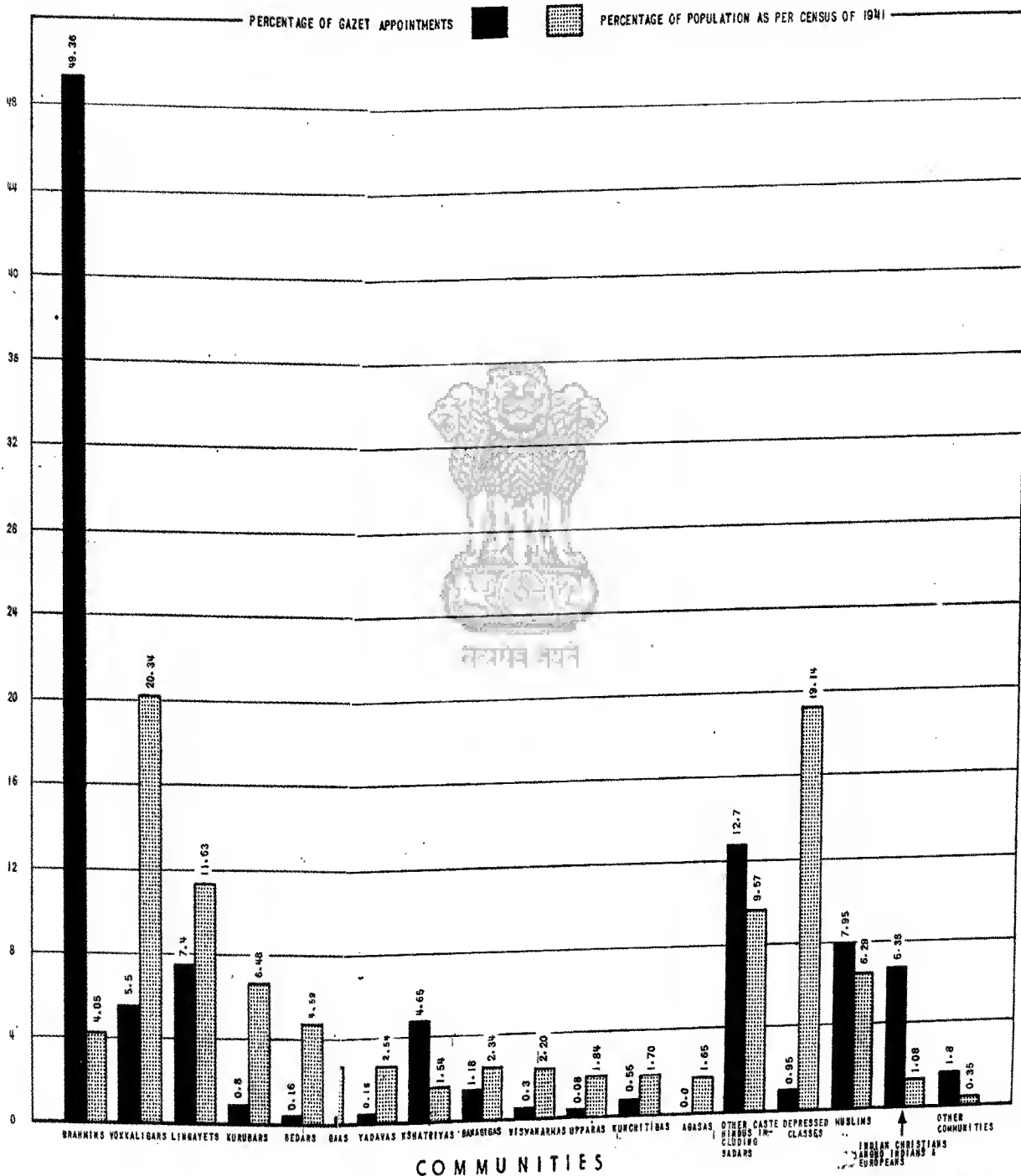
The following persons were co-opted as Members of the Commission during its tours in the States indicated against their names:—

<i>Name of the State</i>	<i>Names of the Co-opted Members</i>
1. Assam	1. Shri Indreswar Khaund, M.L.A. 2. Smt. Chandrabhabha Saikiani.
2. Bihar	1. Smt. Sumitra Devi, M.L.A. 2. Shri Kamaleshwari Prasad Yadav, M.L.A.
3. Bombay	1. Shri V. N. Naik. 2. Shri S. F. Kotur.
4. Himachal Pradesh	1. Shri Gopi Ram, M.P.
5. Hyderabad	1. Shri Bojjam Narasimloo. 2. Shrimati Shakuntala Devi.
6. Kutch	1. Shrimati Lakshmibai. 2. Dr. Vaghjibhai Solanki.
7. Madras	1. Miss T. M. Anantanayaki Ammal. 2. Shri Swayamprakasam, M.L.A.
8. Mysore	1. Shri A. Bhesmappa Naik, M.L.A. 2. Shrimati Indiramma.
9. Orissa	1. Shri Umacharan Das.
10. Saurashtra	1. Shri Maldeijibhai M. Odedra, M.L.A.
11. Uttar Pradesh	1. Shri R. K. Mauriya.
12. Vindhya Pradesh	1. Shri Shambhu Nath Kahar.
13. Tripura	1. Shri Shibcharan Tanti. 2. Kumari Rani Singh.

PERCENTAGE OF GAZETTED APPOINTMENTS HELD BY DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES IN THE STATE SERVICE (MYSORE) IN RELATION TO PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

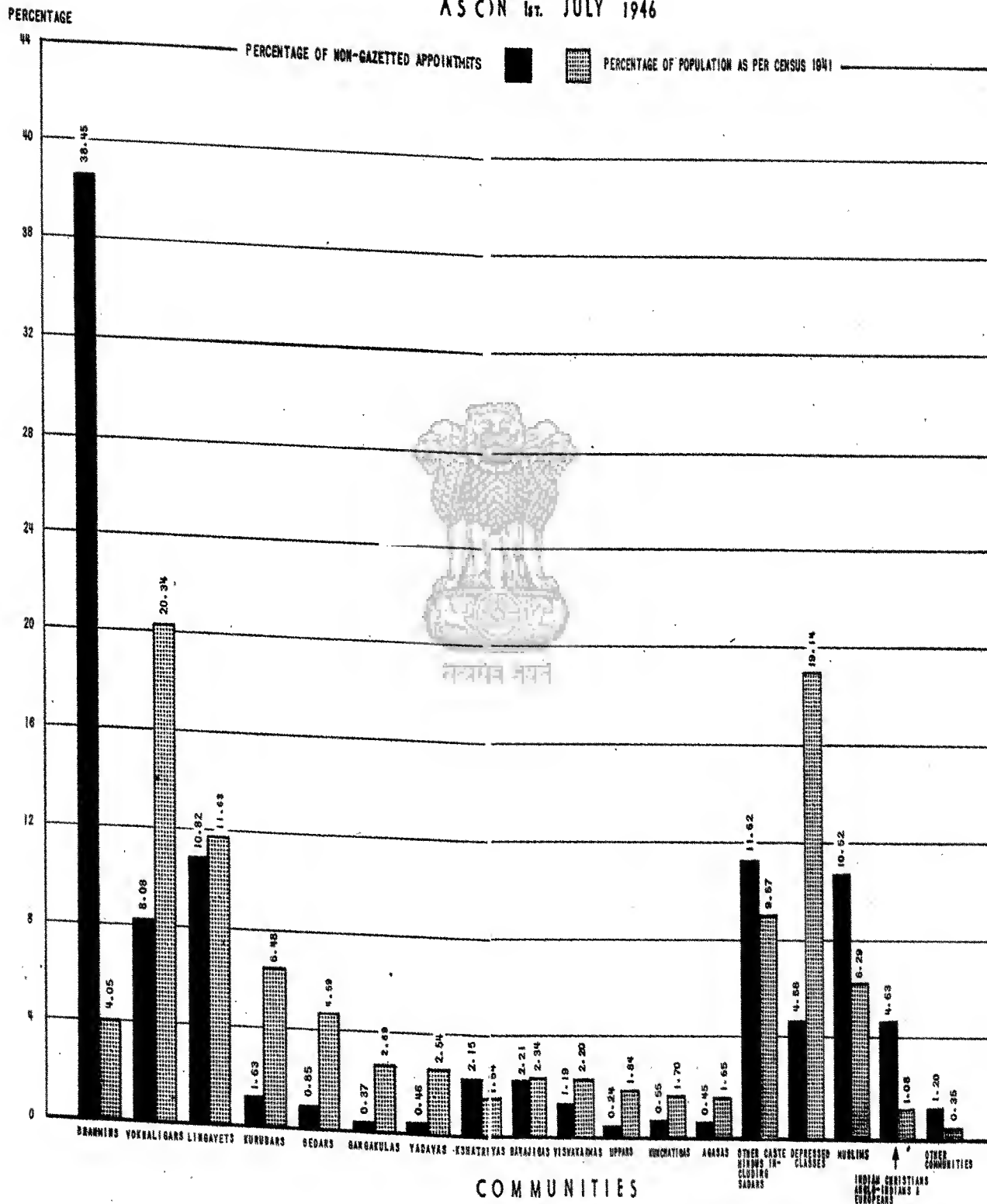
AS ON 1ST. JULY 1946

PERCENTAGE



PERCENTAGE OF NON-GAZETTED APPOINTMENTS HELD BY DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES IN THE STATE SERVICE (MYSORE), EXECUTIVE & MINISTERIAL IN RELATION TO PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

AS ON 1st JULY 1946



APPENDIX IX

On account of their special knowledge of the backward classes, the Commission requested the following persons to join it in its tours in the States as indicated against their names.

1. Andhra	Shri T. Nageswara Rao.
2. Bombay.	1. Shri Parikshit Lal Majumdar. 2. Shri P. G. Shah (later appointed a member of the Commission)
3. Himachal Pradesh	Shri Dharam Dev Shastri.
4. Madras	Shri M. R. Ramchandran, M.L.A.
5. West Bengal	Shrimati Maya Devi Chhetri, M P



सत्यमेव जयते